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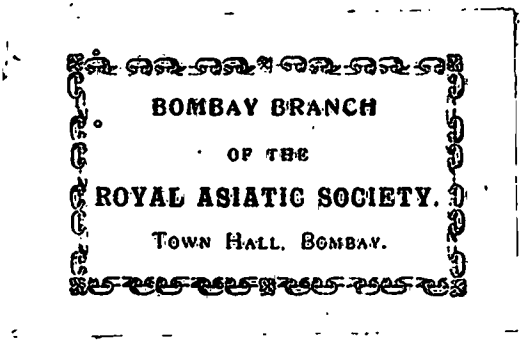

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VARIETIES

OF

VICE-REGAL LIFE.

VOL. I.

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VARIETIES

OF

VICE-REGAL LIFE.

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BY

SIR WILLIAM DENISON, K.C.B.

LATE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE AUSTRALIAN COLONIES

AND GOVERNOR OF MADRAS.

'What is that one thing that we shall at this time found our discourse upon?'

'What you will. I will talk of things heavenly or things earthly; things moral or things evangelical; things sacred or things profane; things past or things to come; things foreign or things at home; things more essential or things circumstantial.'

TALKATIVE, in *Pilgrim's Progress*.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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VOL. I.

LONDON:

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DEDICATION.

I DEDICATE this sketch of twenty years of my life to MY BROTHER OFFICERS. Circumstances led me away from the direct path of professional duty for the whole of that period; but as I owed my first appointment as Governor to the fact that I was an officer of Engineers, so the experience which the mixed character of my duties, as such, enabled me to acquire, has been, throughout my career, of the greatest use to me. I feel bound, therefore, to acknowledge gratefully the benefits which I have derived from my connection with the CORPS OF ROYAL ENGINEERS.

PREFACE

IT HAS BEEN REMARKED, that in these days, 'people write so much that subjects are growing scarce;' and it is quite true that there is comparatively little left, either in the region of personal memoir or foreign travel, possessed of sufficient novelty to excite the interest of the general reader.

It will accordingly be seen that the present work was primarily intended for my brother officers, to whom I could address myself in the confidence that much of my colonial and Indian experience, bearing, as it does, more or less directly, on professional subjects, would not be wanting in interest.

Professional matters, however, form but one class out of the multifarious subjects that fill up the recollections of a career which, in the course of its twenty years' duration, has embraced every 'variety of viceregal life,' from the singular little autocracy over Norfolk Island, perhaps the smallest of the British possessions, to the Governor-Generalship of India; and that, during a period marked, in each locality, by great social and administrative changes. It is from this variety of matter that I would invite my readers to select such topics as may suit their respective tastes, and I have been induced to hope that even some of the more trivial incidents illustrative of a

phase of life which is not a common one, and which has occupations, pleasures,—aye, and troubles too, peculiarly its own,—may not be altogether unproductive of amusement.

By far the largest portion of this narrative consists of letters written at the time by myself, or by members of my family, to the Secretaries of State, or to relations and friends in England and elsewhere. My wife's letters to her own family were mostly written in the form of a journal, kept going from day to day, and despatched whenever an opportunity offered; and the extracts from these are given in their original form. There is this great advantage in a letter, that it tells the tale as it appeared to the writer at the time: it gives to the narrative a truthfulness which can never be attributed to mere reminiscences. Even facts change most curiously when seen through the mist of twenty years, and as regards opinions, one is very much inclined to attribute to oneself, at the commencement of one's career, a maturity of wisdom, which is, in fact, the result of age and experience. There is also an advantage to the reader arising out of the free use of letters; he sees, occasionally, the effect produced by the same circumstances on different minds, and he gets, at all events, the benefit of a picture by a different hand, which, be it either a delineation of scenery or a sketch of society, is a great relief to the sameness of an exhibition of the works of a single artist. I admit that the conjugal or filial pen will occasionally be found indulging in a strain of laudation, which it may perhaps savour of vanity to publish; but it has been found impossible altogether to suppress such passages as these with-

out entirely destroying the freshness and genuineness of the narration. In some few cases, where the original letters have been lost, or only scraps preserved, or where it has seemed advisable to eke out and illustrate the narrative by personal recollections, such scraps and recollections have been thrown together into the form of a letter; but these are marked by having no name or initial at their head, in order to distinguish them from the genuine letters and journal. Some very small interpolations occur even among these last, but they are few and far between; and for the most part the letters and journal are given as originally written, and any subsequent recollections or illustrations are inserted in the text, or in foot notes.

I ought, perhaps, to apologise for the somewhat ambitious character of the title of my work. I was, strictly speaking, entitled to be called Viceroy but for a couple of months, but I was, practically, far more of an autocrat during the earlier portion of my residence in Van Diemen's Land, than I was at Calcutta; and this, added to the temptation of the alliteration, and the difficulty of finding any other euphonious adjective descriptive of my position, will, I trust, plead my excuse.

EAST SHEEN: *November* 1869.

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VARIETIES

OF

VICE-REGAL LIFE.

CHAPTER I.

APPOINTMENT AS LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF VAN DIEMEN'S LAND—VOYAGE—ARRIVAL—STATE OF THE COLONY IN 1846.

THE Spring of 1846 found me a Captain of Engineers of about five years' standing. I had served in various places and capacities for about twenty years, but for the eight years previous to 1846, I had been employed by the Admiralty, having had charge of the construction and repair of the docks and buildings in various dock-yards, under Captain Brandreth, R.E., to whom the superintendence of the works and buildings in all the dock-yards at home and abroad had been intrusted.

Towards the end of the spring, Mr. Gladstone, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, wrote to the Inspector General of Fortifications, asking him to name an officer of Engineers qualified to act as Lieutenant-Governor of Van Diemen's Land. Sir John Burgoyne mentioned this to me, and requested to know whether I was willing to accept the office; and receiving my assurance that I would do so were it offered to me, he sent in my name to Mr. Gladstone, who thereupon communicated with me directly, and

having received satisfactory replies to certain questions which he propounded, told me that my appointment might be considered as settled.

Before my commission was issued, however, a change of Government took place, and Lord Grey succeeded Mr. Gladstone as Secretary for the Colonies; but this did not make any change in my appointment; and I found myself, in a short time, sitting at the Colonial Office, with the despatches to and from the Lieutenant-Governor of Van Diemen's Land for the last three years before me, busily employed in making an abstract of these, for the purpose of enabling me to express an opinion as to the course which it would be wise in the Government to adopt under the contingencies thus brought under my notice. Having finished this, I reported the result to Lord Grey, and in a few weeks I found my report, with some slight alterations, embodied in the instructions issued to me for my guidance.

In the meantime, the preparations for a voyage of three months, and a residence of some years in Van Diemen's Land, went on vigorously. Every article of furniture, plate, crockery, glass, household utensils, saddlery, harness, &c. had to be purchased, for I was told that it would not be wise to trust to the local market for the supply of these. No allowance being made for outfit by the Government, the money for this, amounting to upwards of 2,000*l*., had to be provided. This, which at the time was felt by me but as an inconvenience, a sort of purchase of an annuity, longer experience showed me to be an evil of no small magnitude; and I wrote to Lord Grey some short time after my arrival in Van Diemen's Land, pointing out the unfairness of the existing system, both towards the men sent out as Governors, and towards the Government itself: to the former, by compelling them to commence their career under the pressure of debt; to the latter, by limiting its choice of men, and by virtually obliging it to pass over misconduct

which ought to entail removal from office, because such removal would, in point of fact, be equivalent to the infliction of a heavy fine in addition to the loss of appointment.

The only mode of reaching our destination in Van Diemen's Land in those days was by going round the Cape of Good Hope in a regular trader, and we were lucky enough to secure sufficient accommodation in the 'Windermere,' a new barque of 650 tons, which was to sail in the middle of October. We had a high character of the commander, Captain Ross, which we found was well merited.

At last, all our arrangements having been completed, our baggage (no small portion of the cargo,) shipped while the vessel was in the river, and most of our servants put on board there; we bade adieu to those whom we were not destined to see again for very many years, and proceeded to Portsmouth, where the vessel was to call for most of her passengers, and whence, after a tedious detention of ten days at anchor at Spithead, we sailed on the 13th October 1846. From this point the letters may be left to speak for themselves.

Extracts from Journal.

'Windermere,' at sea, Friday, October 16, 1846.

Dearest M——,—When I sent off my last postscript at Spithead, on Tuesday, I could hardly have hoped to be well enough to begin my journal so soon. I wish I could report as favourably of the ship's progress as of my own; but alas! the wind, which promised so fair when we sailed on Tuesday, only continued so till that evening: then it fell calm, then blew a gale from the S.W., and now it is calm again: so that, after having suffered a great deal, we are still exactly where we were on Tuesday evening, dawdling about within sight of the Portland light, in company with two or three other ships in the same predicament.

October 25.—Since last Sunday I have not been well enough to write. We have had a fearful gale, which began about the middle of the day on Monday, and lasted till Thursday night. On Wednesday afternoon, when it was at its height, a heavy sea struck the ship, and washed over the decks, carried away—something—the fore-staysail I believe, and, what was worse than all, washed a poor man off from the jib-boom. I think I shall never forget the impression of horror produced by the awful sound of the sea striking the ship, followed almost instantly by the terrible cry, 'A man overboard!' Everything was done that could be done, but it was of no use; indeed, in such a tremendous sea, one felt that there could be but little hope.

November 1.—Madeira! beautiful Madeira, has been gladdening our eyes the whole morning; and never, I think, did I see anything so lovely. It is a calm, beautiful day, warm as an ordinary summer's day in England; and the clouds and mists perpetually changing their forms on the hill tops, with bursts of light between, and perpetual sunshine below, make a constant variety of scene.

Funchal Bay, November 2.—Early this morning the quarantine boat came on board, and having, in the course of their enquiries, ascertained that we had lost a man overboard since leaving England, they thought it necessary to go ashore again, to ask the authorities there, whether this was to be considered as a natural death or not! or, in other words, whether falling overboard was sufficiently infectious to make a quarantine necessary for us! Presently, however, they came back with permission for us to communicate with the shore, and then the amusement began: six or seven boats were seen putting off, pulling against each other for the first chance of our custom, some with things to sell, some offering to take us on shore. One of these brought off a tidy-looking woman,

by name Felicia Rosa, who undertook our washing, promising to get it done by to-morrow morning. After breakfast, we prepared to go on shore: all the children, all the servants, everybody was to have a run on land; and the disembarkation was a capital scene, from the clamour and vociferations of the Portuguese boatmen. The landing was still better: there is nothing like a landing place, but there is a kind of post fixed in the stern of each boat, and when you get near the line of surf, the boat is brought round with her stern to the shore, and backed in, while two or three bare-legged boatmen from the beach rush into the water, and begin pulling at a rope attached to the said post, assisted by one or two of your own boatmen who leap overboard, and push with might and main: and thus, amid a great confusion of tongues, you are hauled up, stern foremost, through the surf, on to the beach, and launched again in the same manner on your return. We walked up to the English Consul's, something amusing meeting us at every step: men with the oddest little pointed caps on the top of their heads, women wrapped in a kind of shawl, with a cotton handkerchief by way of head-dress; little round olive-coloured dabs of children; shops, or what pass for shops, where things are sold in a sort of dark place under an open doorway, &c. &c. Later in the day we ordered horses, and took a ride into the country; and, I need not say, were charmed with the beauty and novelty everywhere.

November 3.—Here we are, just off again, moving gently through the water under the influence of the land-breeze; so good bye to beautiful Madeira! We shall carry pleasant recollections of it wherever we go.

November 6.—I remained on deck till tea-time, having a dissertation on stars with W—— and the doctor. Alas! our northern stars are fast descending in the sky, and soon we shall have lost sight of them: the Great Bear is very low indeed, and some of the southern stars

are coming into view. I confess that the idea of losing sight of the northern stars gives me quite a melancholy feeling; they seem to be the last links between us and England: they are the same that you are all looking on: and moreover, I almost feel as if, in losing them, we were leaving the history of the world behind us: as if they had been witnesses of all the great events and noble deeds of which one has ever read in sacred or profane history, and of which the southern stars *can know nothing*! I propounded this idea to W——, who of course laughed at it, and 'thought it was high time the southern stars should see some actions or events worth recording!' What if he should show them some?

November 19.—Did you ever hear that Queen Elizabeth invented studding sails, and illustrated her idea by means of her own apron? This was a fact promulgated in the cuddy the other evening by Miss M——, who said that the Captain had told it her. Some of the party were rather inclined to enquire into his authority for it, but I am quite glad he did not happen to be there at the moment, and that the question was therefore dropped; for I thought the authority might very likely be questionable; whilst the story is so happily in character for a British queen, and for Queen Elizabeth in particular, that I should be vexed to be obliged to disbelieve it.

November 25.—For the last few days we have been becalmed, between the end of the north-east and beginning of the south-east trade wind, but now there seems hope of a change. So, at least, thinks the Captain: 'We shall have the south-east trade soon now,' says he; 'only look, Sir (pointing up towards the sky); the *scenery*, Sir, is quite different to-day from what it was yesterday!'

November 28.—We crossed the Line last night, and to-day we have got the south-east trade wind in good earnest. Captain Ross is in the habit of discountenancing Neptune's visits, on the ground of their being generally a

nuisance to passengers, so we did not come in for what Mr. Backhouse, the Quaker traveller to Van Diemen's Land, whose book we have on board, calls 'those heathenish ceremonies, outrageous alike to Christianity and to civilisation!'

December 13.—Our Sunday service on deck was, from some cause or other, rather later than usual this morning, so that noon approached before it was over. I fancy the Captain had suspected that he should be a little closely run for time to make his observations, so he had, before he came to church, deposited his sextant close at hand, so as to be able to seize upon it, as soon as he should lay down his prayer-book; but this precaution proved insufficient. He evidently at last became aware that the service would *not* be over in time; and, growing desperate, he was seen, at length, in the middle of the prayer for the Queen, to move slowly on his knees, from the chair on which he left his prayer-book, to the corner where lay the sextant. He clutched this dearly beloved instrument, shuffled on to the taffrail (the sun being now fairly behind us to the northward), and took his observation without ever moving off his knees! In short, his whole retreat was performed in so masterly a manner, that I believe very few of the congregation were at all aware that any interruption had occurred to his devotions.

December 16.—A brisk breeze this morning was carrying us along finely, when the man at the wheel called out, 'Sail ahead!' She was soon pronounced to be an American whaler, and she showed indications of meaning to speak with us: but this the Captain said he could not agree to, as, from the position we were in, and the state of the wind and sea, we could not have approached near enough to speak, without some risk of running on board of her. Accordingly, we passed her rapidly; but, in answer to the English colours which we showed as we flew by, she hoisted the 'stars and stripes,' but with the

flag upside down—the signal of distress! I was pleased to see the instantaneous change of tone, which the sight of this signal produced in our good little Captain; from the sort of half-sneering, 'I am not going to risk the ship to speak with him,' to a brisk 'All hands to shorten sail! Take in the royals and studding sails! The scoundrel! why could not he show that signal before?' And thus we hove to, and waited the arrival of a boat, which we saw the Americans putting off. When they came alongside, they made known that their distress was, what Captain Ross says is very common with these whalers, the want of a doctor; for they had a man on board very dangerously ill, and wanted to know if we had a doctor that would come to them. Away with them, therefore, went Dr. Motherwell, and we had to wait a considerable time for his return, the sea meanwhile increasing; and at last we saw the American's whale-boat, which was waiting alongside her to bring the doctor back, capsize, and turn bottom upwards. The two men in her did not seem in the slightest degree disconcerted: in a moment they were both astride on the bottom of the boat, each holding an oar, with which to balance themselves and it; and in this position they drifted calmly away, in a manner that looked alarming enough to unaccustomed eyes, but knowing, as the Captain afterwards told us, that their ship would have no difficulty in picking them up again, as soon as the present business on hand was over.

December 26.—We passed the meridian of the Cape yesterday, with a smooth sea and bright sky: a glorious Christmas Day! We had church service in the morning, and in the afternoon the sailors amused themselves and us with a variety of games on the main deck and forecastle. The last and best of these seemed a modern version of the old 'hobby horse:' two men, tied together back to back, in a stooping posture, with a cloth thrown over them, the two ends of which were twisted into something bearing a

remote resemblance to the head and tail of a horse. It must have been hard work for the man who represented the hinder half, as he of course must have been dragged backwards by his companion; however, the two kept admirable time together, and, when they were fairly started, a third mounted upon them, and then the whole mass came ambling and floundering along the deck. Many were the tumbles of the rider, on which occasions the horse never failed to set off at its utmost speed, which, to be sure, was not great. In the evening, we had a great game of proverbs in the cuddy, and so ended our Christmas Day at sea.

January 17, 1847.—The gentlemen passengers have been getting up a play, which was performed yesterday, and succeeded admirably. It was a burlesque on 'Hamlet;' and as it was played on the lower deck, and the ghost could not by any means be made to rise, it was decided that he should descend through the hatchway. So he did; but unfortunately the tackle used for the purpose was not quite long enough, so the unlucky ghost remained suspended—his feet not quite touching the ground, and his weight causing him to turn slowly round and round. The doctor, who performed the part, was, nevertheless, quite equal to the occasion: maintained a most imperturbable countenance, and delivered his speech without so much as moving a muscle—unheeding alike the awkwardness of the position, and the roar of laughter which it excited.

To Mrs. Denison.

Hobart Town, January 26, 1847.

My dearest Mother,—Here we are, safe and sound, having had a most prosperous voyage. We made the island on Sunday morning, and from that time till about two o'clock yesterday (Monday) we were making our way slowly along the shores of my territory. The southern

coast is very bold, the hills assuming every varied shape which you can imagine, and the whole aspect, though rough and rugged to a degree, and without houses, or any vestiges of habitation either by civilised or uncivilised beings, yet very picturesque, and as such very cheering to our eyes. We watched all day the changes which took place in the view, and about ten o'clock, everything being hidden, we retired below. We heard, however, soon, a noise upon deck, which, upon enquiry, we found was occasioned by the preparation to fire a gun for the pilot. We fired twice, and the second gun was answered by a bright light from the shore, and the pilot came off shortly after. He had a letter for me from Dr. Hampton, asking us to take up our abode with him till the Government House could be cleared for our reception. In the morning we found ourselves beating up a channel about a mile and a half wide, between low hills covered with wood, having here and there a small spot clear of trees, with a symptom of settlement in the shape of a hut. The trees, principally evergreens, were very dingy in appearance, giving a gloomy look to the foreground, except when the sun shone bright upon them, and then some variety of tint was developed. The background of hill was beautiful; the dark purple tint, and the variety of light and shade caused by the irregularity of the ground, made a very striking picture; and everything kept looking better and more varied and picturesque till we got up to the town, which is beautifully situated under a low hill, with Mount Wellington, a hill about 4,500 feet high, rising behind. When we had got within six or seven miles of the town, boats made their appearance: first came Dr. Hampton, the comptroller of convicts, who has the general charge of the whole convict establishment; then Mr. Latrobe, the resident at Port Philip, who has been administering the government here for the last three months. Mr. Latrobe was accompanied by

the colonial secretary, Mr. Bicheno, a short, fat, good-tempered-looking man. They came to make arrangements about my landing. It appeared that the late Lieutenant-Governor, Sir. Eardley Wilmot, was very ill, that he was occupying the cottage of the private secretary, and that his fever would probably be made worse were he to hear the usual salute fired; I begged them, therefore, to dispense with this part of the ceremony. We came to an anchor at last, and the officer in command of the troops, Colonel Hulme, came off with several others, and boats having been prepared we all went ashore, and drove eventually to Dr. Hampton's house, where we now are.

Mr. Latrobe and his wife dined with us; she is a Swiss, and he a most intelligent and agreeable person, who has done an immense deal which would have fallen on my shoulders. He is a most invaluable public servant, and has done his duty here well and manfully. I only hope I may be able to follow in his steps. This morning after breakfast, I went down to Government House, where I had a long talk with Mr. Latrobe on the state of the colony; and at twelve o'clock I received all the officers of Government, about thirty in number, who were presented to me by name, after which I led the way to the verandah in front of the house, and there, in the presence of a large crowd of people, the oaths were administered to me by the officer commanding the troops, who is also a member of the executive council. After this, Mr. Latrobe took me over the house, which is very large, that is, has a great number of small rooms, with good stables and offices.

I begin my official life to-morrow, and an immense mass of work I shall have, for some time at all events. On Wednesday I am to have a levee, when all the population will come and show themselves to me. L—— about the same time will see all the ladies.

Your affectionate Son,

W. D

Before I commence the history of this, the first phase of my vice-regal life, I must give a brief sketch of the country and of the people whom I was sent to govern, and of the peculiarity of my position when I first landed in the colony.

Van Diemen's Land is an island lying to the south of the great continent of Australia, from which it is separated by a strait about 140 miles in width, named after its discoverer, Bass.

The island is rather less than Ireland, containing about 15,000,000 acres. At the beginning of the century it was occupied by a few tribes of natives, differing in many respects from those of the mainland of Australia; the most marked difference was in the character of the hair, which in the inhabitants of Van Diemen's Land was short and strongly curled, having something of an African type; while on the main land of Australia, the character approximates more to that of the Malayan family. The number of the natives did not, it is supposed, ever exceed 500. The first white settlers, consisting of a party of military sent from New South Wales with a gang of convicts under their charge, landed near Hobart Town, to the southward of the island, in 1803. Gradually, as inducements were held out to settlers in the shape of grants of land, and of the cheap labour of convicts to aid them in cultivating it, some few made their way to the island, cleared and cultivated a portion of their grants, built houses thereon, and lived a hard life, as must always be the case with the first agricultural settlers in a new country. They were sometimes nearly starved when a dry season damaged their crops, at other times they had a rude plenty of food, but little of anything else. Gradually, however, this offshoot of Australia partook of the prosperity of the mainland; sheep were introduced and throve; an export of wool was established which returned money; the population, both free and bond, increased rapidly, and in 1825 was numerous

enough to induce the Secretary of State to establish a Government, separate from that of New South Wales in fact, though the form of subordination was maintained, the head of the Government being called Lieutenant-Governor. The form of government was similar to that of the colonies generally at that time: the Governor, in spite of his subordinate title, was almost autocratic; he corresponded directly with the Secretary of State, and of course was bound to obey such orders as he might receive from home, but as the correspondence took a long time (sometimes eighteen months) to go round the world, he was practically his own master. He had an Executive Council, composed of the heads of different departments; the law being represented by the Attorney-general, the church by the Bishop, the army by the officer commanding the troops, of which there were generally one or two regiments. The executive body was occasionally transmuted into a legislature by the addition of a certain number of members selected from among the settlers, the merchants, and others unconnected with the government, and on this system matters went on for a time satisfactorily enough. The settlement of Port Phillip on the south coast of Australia, just opposite to Van Diemen's Land, created such a demand for stock, and especially for sheep, that ewes were sold for fifty shillings each, and the settlers of Van Diemen's Land made large sums of money by the sale of their surplus stock. The sudden increase of wealth brought with it the usual accompaniment of extravagance; all seemed to calculate on the permanence of a state of things which was in its essence temporary. They forgot altogether that sheep would breed and increase in Port Phillip; so the man who had been content to ride or drive a gig, set up a four in hand; while others, who wished to combine with the ordinary profits of the stockowner those of the dealer in money, opened 'a bank,' which ran away with their

money faster a good deal than the four in hand; and in a very short time not only cleared off their surplus capital, and the profits derived from the sale of their stock, but left them deeply involved in debt, their estates being mortgaged to those very banks with which they had tried to compete. About this time also, (1841–1842,) the cessation of transportation to New South Wales left Van Diemen's Land the sole receptacle of the criminals of England; and thousands of convicts were poured into the colony in excess of the ordinary demand for labour. The imperial government at the same time kept an account, as against the colony, of the labour of the men at all the convict stations, estimated at the rate of sixpence per day, without any reference to the actual value of the work performed; and this, as the stations were dotted about in different parts of the country, and as the men were not worked upon any good system, was very trifling.

The result was a violent outcry on the part of the settlers, against transportation in the abstract; a sort of reflection of that which had caused the cessation of the system in New South Wales, but enhanced in violence by the conduct of the Imperial Government, which, under the advice of the Commissary General, had striven to make of the convicts a sort of marketable commodity, to be sold to the colony at a high rate. The storm commenced towards the latter end of the government of Sir John Franklin: it blew a violent gale during the time that Sir Eardley Wilmot was Governor, and I found it, on my arrival, a perfect hurricane of talk and newspaper abuse; the wind blowing from every quarter, but most violently, of course, from that where self-interest had its hand upon the bellows. The action of the storm had affected the Legislative Council; six out of eight of the nominee members had resigned their seats, and these vacancies having been filled up by my predecessor, the pleasant

task of settling the claims of the two parties, or of picking out of the twelve the six best qualified men, devolved upon me. There was but little money in the treasury and abundance of claims upon the Government. Such was the state of things in the colony when I arrived. I had, however, most luckily, seen the whole of the correspondence between the Secretary of State and my predecessor, had studied carefully the working of the Government, and the nature of the complaints brought against it, and had made up my mind to a course of action which I thought might relieve both the Government and the colonists; this had been embodied in my 'Instructions,' and I had got authority to carry it out as circumstances would permit. When I landed at Hobart Town, at the beginning of 1847, the population of the island amounted to about 66,000: of these 29,000 were convicts, that is, men and women whose sentences had not expired. There were, therefore, 37,000 free people, including men, women, and children, of whom, of course, several had been convicts, or were descended from convicts. Of the 29,000, many were in the nominal employment of the Government, in gangs upon the roads; while a good many were confined in gaols or penal settlements; the remainder were either acting as servants to the free settlers, or earning their own livelihood as ticket-of-leave men. In spite, however, of this very formidable-looking census, which induced, in some of our visitors, a sort of morbid dread of every man whom they met, with a tendency to walk about with loaded pistols in their pockets, life and property were as secure, I may indeed say with truth more secure, than in England: there were no shutters to the windows, no locks to the doors. On the night of our arrival, my wife and I were very much struck with the quiet of Hobart Town; a little after nine o'clock there was not a sound to be heard, although the town was a seaport, and there were several vessels in harbour. I do not of

course mean that the population was unusually virtuous or orderly; but there was an active and efficient police, thoroughly organised, consisting nearly altogether of convicts; there was an admirable system of rewards and punishments, and under the action of these, the saying of 'set a thief to catch a thief' was proved to be a wise maxim.

CHAPTER II.

ENTRANCE ON OFFICE—BEAUTIFUL SCENERY—FERN TREE VALLEY—JOURNEY TO LAUNCESTON—VISIT TO BRIGHTON—STRANGE NOMENCLATURE—HOT WIND—FEMALE CONVICTS—TRANSPORTATION—VISIT TO PORT ARTHUR—SOCIAL CONTRETEMPS—COLONIAL ETIQUETTES—QUEEN'S BIRTHDAY, AND TROUBLES ATTENDANT THEREON—MEETING OF COUNCIL—DISPLAY ON SMALL MEANS—LEGAL DIFFICULTIES ABOUT CONSTITUTION OF COUNCIL—ADJOURNMENT—REHEARSAL OF 'TABLEAUX VIVANTS' AT GOVERNMENT HOUSE—INFANT SCHOOLS—EXTRAORDINARY FINANCIAL STATEMENT—HUTCHINS' SCHOOL—SECTARIAN JEALOUSIES—KANGAROO HUNTING—VISIT TO LAUNCESTON—STATE ENTRÉE—BALL UNDER DIFFICULTIES—'TASMAN'S DAY'—CHRISTMAS FÊTE TO ABORIGINES.

To H. Denison, Esq.

Hobart Town, January 28, 1847.

My dear Henry,—We landed here a few days ago, as you will learn from my letter to my mother, and are staying with the Hamptons, but hope to get into our house by the end of the week. Hampton is getting on very well; he has made, by the aid of Latrobe, who has been acting as Lieutenant-Governor for about three months, a most searching and unsparing clearance of all that was bad in the convict department, and has thus relieved me of an immense amount of work. He and Latrobe, however, have brought upon themselves a great deal of odium, as you may imagine; and many cases are awaiting my decision, which the persons who have suffered from their pruning-knives, fancy will be looked upon by me with more favourable eyes; they will, however, probably find themselves mistaken.

Our financial state is very bad: no money in the treasury, and very little likely to come in while there are many debts to pay. The whole establishment of the

Government is on a scale more suited to a colony like Canada, than to a small place like this, with a *free* population not much exceeding 30,000. I have been looking about for horses, but can find few fit to carry me, on this side of the island; there are said, however, to be some better animals on the north side, to which I shall betake myself, as soon as I have settled matters here, got L.—— into the house, and made her in some measure comfortable.

I have been moving about for short distances round the town, and I am really delighted with the aspect of things. The town is well-built, the houses are mostly of stone, a good coloured sandstone; there are many new houses building; the views from the hills surrounding the town are beautiful; there is a perfect mixture of hill, valley, and water: the only defect is the general greyness of the foliage, but this is said to be remedied in spring by the vivid green of the cultivated land.

The absurdity of attempting to legislate at home in matters of detail, for a colony at such a distance as this, is most forcibly shown by the state of things here at present. My instructions were drawn up from the latest information received; and they contemplated a state of things exactly the reverse of what I found to prevail. The country was supposed to be full of unemployed convicts, and I was exhorted to make out different kinds of employment for them; I find, on the contrary, that every convict able to work has been hired, and that there is a deficiency of hands to carry on the ordinary Government work. The people who complained of the convicts being sent here, will be clamouring, in a short time, for labour. Upwards of 5,000 men have gone over to Port Phillip, and other parts of Australia, and the instant any man gets his conditional pardon, off he goes to places where there is a better market for his labour.

I have been called upon already to make up my mind

as to the course to be adopted when applications are made to remit sentence of death. The Roman Catholic Vicar-General came to me with a request for a commutation of sentence, in the case of a man condemned to death, and he held out to me the inducement that this exhibition of lenity would be a graceful mode of commencing my career as Governor. I, however, wished to make up my mind as to the obligation which my position imposed upon me, and I declined to give him any answer until I had gone carefully into the consideration of the whole subject. The result which I arrived at was, that when the Judge (as is the practice, I find,) comes before the Executive Council with the report of the conviction, and his notes of the evidence, I would, after hearing these, ask him this single and simple question: 'Do you see any reason why the sentence passed upon the prisoner should not be carried into effect?' And if his reply should be to the effect that he saw no reason for interfering with the operation of the law, I determined that the sentence should always be carried out. I feel convinced that by acting steadily in accordance with this rule, I shall deal more fairly by the Colony, and satisfy my conscience better, than were I to strive to find out excuses for exercising my power of pardoning.

Your affectionate brother,

W. D.

Extracts from Journal.

January 27, 1847.

Yesterday afternoon we drove to the Government garden, which is situated in the domain. I can hardly tell you how delighted I was with the drive: the domain itself is more like an English park than I should have conceived possible; and the trees, though they certainly have not the varied beauty of English trees, still look much better when near than they do at a distance. The

views from the domain are really beautiful; the harbour is so land-locked as to look like a lake, with beautiful wooded hills on the opposite side of it. We passed the spot where they had begun to build a new Government house, which never was finished; and, pleased as I am with the old house, I am afraid I half coveted this, from the exceeding beauty of its situation and views. At length, we arrived at the Government garden; and what a sight was there! The profusion of fruit exceeded anything I ever saw before; plums, of various sorts, dropping and lying about almost in heaps, under every tree; in fact, in greater abundance than we can ever make use of. Pears, apples, &c. in proportion; figs, vegetables of all sorts, some English flowers, and some very beautiful native shrubs. The principal of these were, a kind of Mimosa growing quite up into a tree, and bearing little clusters of lilac flowers with a very sweet smell; the *wattle*, a kind of acacia, with bright yellow flower; the Norfolk Island pine, a very beautiful tree, more like a cedar than a pine, and which, I believe, in its own country grows to an immense height and size; and sundry others, whose names I do not know, with brown or red flowers. Amongst all, there appeared the bright green of an English walnut tree, loaded, like every thing else, with fruit, and some very healthy-looking young oaks. Altogether, it would be thought a delightful garden anywhere; and to us, just come off a long sea voyage, it seemed little short of a Paradise!

January 30.—We are going this afternoon to see one of the fern valleys, the great peculiarity, I believe, of Van Diemen's Land, and then, for the first time, I suppose I shall be able really to conceive myself in a foreign country; for the whole air of this place, the streets, the shops, the very gardens, from the many English flowers in them, are so exactly like those of a country town in England, that it is very difficult to realise the fact of being

nearly at the Antipodes. The only differences, almost, that I can see, are, the occasional passing by of a gang of convicts, or a team of bullocks; the greater preponderance of white coats and straw hats among the men; and the fact that, if you listen attentively to the cries in the streets, you may chance to hear them crying 'trumpeter,' instead of mackerel; trumpeter being the fish most in request here, and as far as I have yet tasted, the best. To-morrow we are looking forward with great pleasure to going to church again, after our many Sundays at sea.

February 1.—We went our proposed excursion to the fern valley on Saturday afternoon, a large party, in three carriages. The road, which in the town is very good, grew more and more shaky as we advanced; and at last we came to a sort of boggy place, through which we had barely struggled, when a message was somehow passed from the last carriage, in which the children were, to the front, to the effect that the horses and whole concern had stuck fast, 'and couldn't get *no* farther.' Seeing this, Mr. Clarke dismounted one of the orderlies, and set off himself on the horse, to pick out the children one by one, and we then proceeded a little farther up the valley, till an old gentleman, whom we had met on the road, the proprietor of a large brewing concern, who had undertaken to show us the way, told us he could not promise us a *very good* carriage road *any farther!* So we got out and walked, and soon lost sight of a path altogether, and got fairly into the bush. The drive up the valley was lovely; and now, though we were too much surrounded by trees to have much of a view, there was abundance of beauty. Under the trees are numbers of shrubs, more varied in foliage than the trees themselves; flowers of different kinds, bright blue berries, and, amongst all these, the most beautiful little beetles and other insects. When we got to the fern valley itself, the walk became a scramble;

a thing I do not at all object to, for its own sake, and at any rate it would have been worth it for the sake of the scene. The valley is a very narrow gorge, with a water-course at the bottom, which, in wet weather, must be a regular torrent; and even now, at the end of a very dry summer, it is a very respectable little stream of cold, clear water, running and tumbling down little steps and inequalities in the ground, with a sound that it refreshes one to listen to. Growing almost in this stream, and overhanging it, are the fern trees; not very high, but with a curious-looking thick stem, at the top of which, like a crown, spring out the fern leaves, some of them nine or ten feet long; indeed, I have heard of their sometimes measuring fourteen feet! I think they are a brighter green than the common ferns in England, but in shape exactly like them; and these fern trees, again, stand under other trees, most of them of immense height; so that the whole valley is in such deep shade, as to feel quite cool, or I might almost say chilly, though the day was the hottest we have had since landing. This place was, only a few years ago, the resort of some noted bush-rangers, who, as Mr. Degraves, the old gentleman who accompanied us, told us, used to come down at night, take the horses out of his stables, ride down to the town, plunder what they could, carry off their booty to their hiding place, bring the horses back into the stable, and be off again on foot to their place of concealment before daylight. One spot in particular I fixed upon, that really might have been the bushranger's home: it was a large hollow-tree, the stem of which seemed to have been burnt out, leaving a space large enough for several people to stand upright in at once. This may give you some idea of the enormous size of many of the trees.

Yesterday was Sunday, our first Sunday on shore; the principal church in the town is almost close to Government House. There are three full services there every

Sunday. The church is a very comfortable one; the duty quietly and well done, and organ and singing very fair.

About the middle of February, having settled my family in the Government House, I left Hobart Town for the double purpose of inspecting the main road across the island to Launceston, the capital of the northern portion, and of making myself known to the settlers generally.

So far as the road was concerned, my object was to ascertain for myself the mode in which the convicts were worked, when in gangs under Government overseers; and to see whether I could not devise some satisfactory system of task-work, by which I might substitute the hope of reward as an inducement to work, in place of the fear of punishment, the only stimulus now held out.

As regarded the settlers, I was not only desirous to know them, and to be known by them, but I was anxious to ascertain their views on the subject of transportation, which each man with whom I might converse would be sure to press upon me; and, at the same time, to learn how they proposed to meet the demand for labour, which would necessarily become exorbitant, as soon as the Government ceased to pour in some six or seven thousand convicts annually.

I took with me the Inspector of Roads, Captain Forth, and travelled partly in a carriage and partly on horseback, as it was an advantage to be able to leave the road occasionally, for the purpose of inspecting works, or visiting the people who might live to the right or left of the road.

The distance from Hobart Town to Launceston is 120 miles: there are two or three long hills, but, generally speaking, it is fairly level. This distance was trotted over some years ago by one of the settlers, on a small chestnut cob, in 24 hours, which tells well both for horse and man, and for the general character of the country. The road

seemed to me well laid out; here and there alterations were being made to reduce the slope at the hills to the established proportion of one in thirty. The bridges, too, were well built, and some repairs and alterations which were in progress, and to which my attention was called by Captain Forth, were skilfully planned and well executed. On the whole, I was very well pleased with the way in which Captain Forth had done his work as an engineer. I was not so well satisfied with the system of convict management; the men evidently worked as if they had no interest in what they were about; they did just enough to satisfy the overseer, while the latter seemed to think that his sole business was to keep up appearances, to be able to say that the men were 'at work.' I was told a story of an officer who, seeing a convict professedly employed in breaking stones for the road, doing his work as if he was half asleep, said, 'Take care, my man, you will break that stone;' but was answered, 'Oh no, your honour, I knows too well for that.' When task-work had been introduced, the task was made absurdly trifling, and the men were allowed to leave the work as soon as this small amount was finished.

I found that soldiers were employed in watching gangs of convicts while at work, and I spoke to the officer in command of the company which supplied the guard as to the effect produced upon the minds of the soldiers by having such duty thrust upon them. He seemed to think that the sight of doubly and trebly convicted men, working in irons, and yet treated in respect of food, &c. so much better than themselves, must be distasteful to soldiers, and would be likely to induce them to draw unpleasant comparisons between the mode in which the Government dealt with honest men, and with rogues. It struck me that he was right, and that it would be advisable to arrange our system of convict labour so as to enable us to dispense with the attendance of soldiers on

the working parties. Still, although there was much that required amendment, yet none could deny that much had been done. The whole aspect of the country houses, fences, cultivation, &c., showed that the people had availed themselves of, and been benefited by, the quantity and cheapness of the labour placed at their command; while the roads, wharves, and public buildings proved that the Government had not been idle, or neglected to avail itself, for the benefit of the colony, of the means placed at its disposal. The contrast, in all these matters, between Van Diemen's Land, a new colony, and Canada, or the American colonies generally, was most marked. I could hardly believe that all this, which struck me as so remarkable, could be overlooked by the colonists themselves, and I was inclined to think that what they complained of, was more the absence of results during the last few years, when the number of convicts had been so largely augmented, than the presence of any positive evil; so that I hoped, by making the labour of the men left in the hands of the Government more extensively useful, I might produce a reaction in the minds of the people, and might get them, if not to welcome transportation as a blessing, at all events to refrain from abusing it as a curse.

I made my journey to Launceston in four stages. On the first night I stopped at the house of a Mr. Kemp, one of the oldest settlers in the colony; he had been a subaltern in the New South Wales Regiment, and had borne a hand, I believe, in the ejection of Governor Bligh; he had dined with Washington, as he took care to tell me, and had such a reverence for him, that he called his house 'Mount Vernon,' after that of his American hero. The house was a solid, substantial, roomy building, with no pretensions to architectural beauty, but looking very comfortable both within and without. There were good farm buildings at a short distance, and a stack yard well filled. We were kindly welcomed by the old patriarch

and his family, and several settlers in the neighbourhood had been invited to meet us. I had a talk with Mr. Kemp in the morning, as to his own doings, when he showed me over his establishment. I found that he milked 60 cows, making a quantity of butter, which he sent down to Hobart Town, where Mount Vernon butter brought the highest price in the markets. He netted, last year, upwards of 600*l.* by butter alone.

My next stage took me to Mona Vale, the residence of Mr. Kermode (a Manx man). He had shown great judgment in selecting his allotment, and skill and industry in making the most of its advantages. His land is situated in the angle between the two rivers, Blackman and Macquarie; it is therefore well watered; it is clear of timber, and covered with a short and sweet grass, while there are several salt-springs, which both sheep and cattle like. Then he has built a dam about twelve feet high, across the Blackman, and has thereby secured a body of water sufficient to irrigate 500 acres of land; this, which was originally a swamp, he has drained and inclosed, and it now yields immense crops of grass and hay. He had made a second dam lower down the Blackman, which gave him water-power sufficient to work a great mill, threshing machine, &c.; while, from the Macquarie, he had brought water to work a water-ram, with about a four feet fall, which pumped up water for the supply of the whole establishment.

From Mona Vale, we rode and drove some thirty-six miles, to the house of Mr. T. Archer, stopping by the way at Campbell Town, to have an interview with a large body of settlers, who had collected there to meet me. Mr. Archer was an officer of the Commissariat. He, and three other brothers, had cast their lot in Van Diemen's Land, and had become wealthy men. Three of them lived close together, on the banks of the South Esk, and their possessions extended over a large tract

of country. Mr. Archer's house was large and well-furnished, and exhibited more evidence of what constitutes 'comfort' than those of many other settlers.

From Mr. Archer's I drove into Launceston, being met on the road by a large assemblage of people, magistrates, and government officials, as well as officers of the regiment quartered in the town. I had to cut my visit short, as I was anxious to get back to Hobart Town, where I had a great deal to do, but I promised to come back before long, and to bring my wife with me.

At Launceston, at the settlers' houses, and at all the towns at which I stopped on the road, I had the opportunity, of which I gladly availed myself, of learning from the settlers themselves their views as to transportation. In fact, this was the staple topic of conversation everywhere; and each man felt himself bound to press upon me his views and wishes, whether as to the mode of treatment of the men; the advantages which should be given to the settler, to compensate for the moral injury done to him, by providing him with such labour; or the mode of getting rid of the convicts, and substituting free labourers for them. There was, however, no unanimity of opinion, except as to the probable injury which would be done by an immediate cessation of transportation; this was admitted to be incalculable.

The majority, it is true, were opposed to the continuance of transportation, but the thought of the consequences to themselves compelled even these to make this cessation conditional upon the introduction of some substitute; and a variety of schemes were submitted, such as, that England was to send out 12,000 free emigrants, &c. &c.; in fact, they seemed to think that it was the business of others to supply them with labour, while the task of supplying themselves was a remote contingency, to be thought of hereafter. What I wanted was, to know what the settlers and others thought on the

subject. I was in no way called upon to volunteer opinions, but I pointed out to them, that it would not be wise to press upon the Government a particular course of action, which must, on their own showing, if carried out, be ruinous to themselves, without accompanying it with some plausible scheme, for supplying the labour necessary to enable them to cultivate their land, &c. On the whole, I returned to Hobart Town fairly satisfied with what I had seen and heard; much pleased with the look of the country, and the well-to-do aspect of the people; a little troubled at the thought of the character of the opposition I was likely to encounter, but with a fair amount of confidence, that by a judicious use of the means at my disposal, I might modify the character of the opposition, and lessen its amount.

Extracts from Journal.

February 20.

Yesterday I received an invitation to spend the day with Mrs. Nixon, at a place called Pontville, about seventeen miles from Hobart Town. We drove about twelve miles along an excellent road, on the banks of the river, to a place called the Bridgewater Ferry. The road was very pretty, the river so land-locked by a variety of little promontories, &c. as to look more like a succession of lakes than anything else. At the ferry it becomes quite beautiful; a high hill, called the Dromedary, almost overhangs the river, and its broad dark shadow in the still water had a most pleasing effect.

After crossing the ferry, the road rises at first, affording beautiful views of Mount Wellington, the Dromedary, &c. and then descends into the valley of the *Jordan!* We crossed the river by a bridge, and ascending the opposite bank, we arrived at the little village of Pontville. I cannot say much for the Jordan at present, for, after a dry summer like this, it dwindles to such an insignificant

stream as to look very little better than a wide ditch; but it is evident from the traces all along its course, that in winter it must be a rapid torrent.

I was amused with the extraordinary nomenclature that seems to prevail, leading to most absurd mixtures of commonplace names with sacred, historic, or romantic ones: before I had been many days at Hobart Town, I saw a stage coach with 'Brighton and Bagdad' lettered on the back of it; and an advertisement setting forth that a carrier would go three times a week to Richmond and Jerusalem! And here we were on the banks of the Jordan, with lake Tiberias not far from us.

Mrs. Nixon says she finds that this practice of giving Scripture names to so many of the places hereabout, produces an unpleasant effect on the minds of her children, and still more so, of course, on those of the less educated children in the schools for the poor; inasmuch as the names, to them, lose all the interesting associations with which we invest them, and are connected chiefly in their minds with the places which they have been accustomed to hear so called; Jerusalem and Jericho, for instance, being before their mind's eye as two paltry convict stations! while the Jordan is to them the little stream which is almost dry in the summer, and only makes a respectable river in the rainy season. We spent the afternoon in walking about and partly in talk, and set out on our return home about five o'clock.

February 23.—On. Sunday we had, what we have heard of so much here, but never before experienced, 'the hot wind;' and it is the most extraordinary thing I ever felt. Our English ideas of heat prompt us to open all the doors and windows, but that would not at all do here, where the great essential is to keep every window and door shut. By dint of this precaution, the house and the church were quite cool; but the moment you stirred out to get from one to the other, you were met by

a hot blast, totally unlike anything I ever felt before. Once indeed, on stepping out of the cool schoolroom into the passage, there was a feeling, and even a smell, so like that of a half-heated oven, that for a moment I almost imagined that something must be on fire; but it was only that the hall door had been left partly open, and the hot wind had filled the passage. Magnificent bush fires were blazing on Mount Wellington at night: indeed there were immense ones, extending through the whole neighbourhood to New Norfolk, twenty-two miles off, on one side, and to Brown's River, ten miles off, on the other. Near Brown's River, the fire was large enough to create some alarm, lest it should spread down to the settlers' clearings, but I believe it actually did very little mischief.

March 5.—W—— and I went yesterday on board the 'Anson,' female convict hulk: all female prisoners go there on their first arrival, and remain six months; after which, if they behave well, they become passholders, and are allowed to hire themselves out as servants; but any misconduct during the six months of course lengthens the time which they must spend there. It was a melancholy sight; there were 486 prisoners on board, some of them young girls of twelve, thirteen, and fourteen years old. One of them, to whom I spoke, told me, in answer to my questions, that she came from Blackburn in Lancashire, where she had been employed in a factory; and Mrs. Bowden, the superintendent, who reigns with pretty despotic authority on board the 'Anson,' told me that a great number of the poor factory girls from our large towns come out here as prisoners, some of them, as we see, at a very early age. All those to whom I spoke were quiet and respectful in their manner, and I was really touched with one, a poor Irishwoman, one of a large party who arrived only a few days ago, in a convict ship from Dublin: I made some enquiry from her respecting the children, a great number of whom, I knew,

had come out in the ship with their mothers. The tears started into her eyes the moment I began to speak of them, and she told me she had two of her own amongst them, a boy and a girl; 'and indeed,' she added, 'I am just breaking my heart after them!' Mrs. H——, who was with us, told her they would be very well taken care of at the Orphan School whither they were gone; and I said that if she conducted herself well, she would be allowed to see them, as soon as her period of probation on board the 'Anson,' was out; and all this seemed a comfort to her. As we were leaving the part of the ship in which they were, another poor woman from the same party ran after Mrs. H——, to ask when she would be allowed to see her little girl, who was also gone to the school. I thought a good deal about these poor creatures when I came home, and this morning I told W—— of these two poor mothers (for he had been in another part of the ship at the time, and had not heard them), and, to my great delight, he said he would see about making some alteration in the regulations; for he thought this complete separation of mother and children for at least six months was a bad thing, as the indulgence of their natural affections must have a softening effect on the hearts of the poor women, and ought not to be prevented; while the total repression of these feelings is likely to do harm. At present those convict women who have actually infants at the breast, are sent, with their babies, on their arrival here, to an establishment called the 'Nursery;' but with respect to all the others, a separation takes place, the mothers being sent on board the 'Anson,' and the children to the Queen's Orphan School; and great, I should think, must often be the misery of both at this parting.

To Mrs. Denison.

Hobart Town, March 7, 1847.

My dearest Mother,—We have got pretty well settled in our house, have our furniture and books arranged round about us, and are beginning to have something like a home feeling. There is, however, much to be done to the house before it can be considered complete and comfortable; but this I shall postpone until I can persuade the Legislative Council to grant the money. I am just about to make an experiment as to the Legislative Council, which, if it turns out successful, will relieve me from great difficulties. There had been a quarrel between my predecessor and the council, in consequence of which six of the eight nominee members resigned in a body, and six others were appointed in their room. My instructions direct me to select out of these twelve the six best qualified; do what I will, if I make any selection, I must offend several. I am therefore going to try whether I cannot persuade them to arrange the matter peaceably and quietly among themselves, by selecting, in any way they like, half-a-dozen to serve in the council. Various are the opinions which are expressed by those whom I have consulted; some think that the two parties will, like children, keep aloof, each in its corner, and that all attempts to amalgamate them will prove unavailing. If so, I am only in the position in which I was before I mooted the proposition; and shall then, having done my best to bring matters to a quiet and moderate termination, be obliged to make my own selection. The great complaints which I hear made throughout the colony are directed against the convict servants. They are said to be idle, drunken, careless, dishonest, without any feeling for the interest or welfare of their masters; but when I come to look into matters, I find that the masters often are just as much to blame as the

servants, if not more so; the latter are, in many instances, treated with less consideration than horses or cattle, and can hardly, therefore, be fairly expected to look with any degree of respect, or affection, upon those who deal with them so badly. In a trip which I took to Launceston the other day, I stopped at various houses, and as I took my own servant with me, and was therefore independent of the attendance of the domestics in those houses, I did not see much, but the complaints made by my servant to the aide-de-camp were numerous. He very seldom got a bed: in one instance, they wanted to put him and the aide-de-camp into the same room, having ascertained from the latter that it was usual to give servants beds to sleep on. I hope and trust that the report which he has doubtless made to the servants I brought out with me, will be sufficient to deter them from leaving me, and seeking to better themselves elsewhere. At one house, some one looking into the dining-room late at night, saw the master of the house counting over the plate which had been used, and locking it up. Now I would rather have no plate at all, than submit to such drudgery, or live in such a state of chronic suspicion; if I could not trust my servants to take care of the plate, I would rather have common metal spoons and forks. I have got a good gardener, and am going to get everything in order about the house, where there is a garden admitting of being made very pretty. Geraniums grow luxuriantly, and every English plant appears to thrive.

We have just commenced our dinner parties, having had two of twenty-two each last week. My wine cooling apparatus excited much admiration, no attempt having been made hitherto to cool liquor, though the weather is so warm in summer as to make a cool draught a luxury. The evenings, however, are always cool.

Your affectionate Son,

W. D.

Extracts from Journal.

Hobart Town, April 19, 1847.

We paid a visit to New Norfolk, which has been a most enjoyable one: I was already acquainted with the road as far as Bridgewater, after passing which place it continued winding along the banks of the river Derwent, and, though very pretty, rather disappointing the high expectations I had formed of it, till we reached New Norfolk, a cheerful-looking village, which stands very prettily in an open space, with high hills at some little distance on every side. The Government cottage stands on the most beautiful spot of all; cottage and farm occupying a sort of spit of land at the junction of the Derwent and a little river called the Lachlan; and the grounds of the cottage, and the banks of the river just opposite to it, comprising every beauty that a mixture of rock, wood, and water can give them. Oh that I could give you an idea of the exquisite scenery there! for it is a great drawback to my pleasures here, in this and every other respect, to think that I can never make any of you share in them, nor ever get you to see these beautiful spots which delight us so much. Such ideas as sketches can give, you shall have in due time; and meanwhile I must give the best idea I can of the scenery about our cottage, by saying that it is more like the Morwell rocks on the river Tamar, than anything else I know; except that the hills at New Norfolk are very much higher and more thickly wooded, and that the rocks stand by themselves in a heavier mass, and in this respect, I think, are rather inferior, that they do not jut out quite so suddenly from the middle of the wood as the Morwell rocks do. One of the prettiest views is from the front of the cottage, though this is not quite so bold as the rest; it is a view up the river, with scattered houses on its banks, a bridge across it, and a range of wooded hills in the distance.

April 23.—Yesterday we gave a little dance, and it went off successfully as far as the evening was concerned; but we had a narrow escape of a dreadful fracas at the dinner which preceded it. I must give you the whole history; for, in spite of everything, there was an absurdity about it, that made us all laugh the next day, when we came to a knowledge of the enormities we had committed. There had been considerable difficulty, to begin with, in arranging the matter of precedence; for amongst the guests were two Legislative Councillors and their wives; and which of these two was to be first?[1] Mr. C—— proposed to compromise the matter, by making one of these councillors take me in to dinner, and letting W—— take the wife of the other; but we objected to this, as being awkward, and just as likely to affront both parties as to conciliate either; and we decided that the wife of the greatest man should be the greatest woman, and that Mr. ——, who was both the oldest councillor and the oldest man, should have the precedence. All was done accordingly; Mrs. —— was advanced to the post of honour, and we were all charmed with her; for she seemed a nice, respectable, motherly old lady, and pleased us all very much. The next day, however, A—— (who would delight you all, as he does me, by his intense anxiety for our well-doing and success, and the extremity of his distress when anything goes wrong), burst into the room, exclaiming, 'Oh! I am so glad to find you here, and alone, for *such* a thing has happened! We were within an ace of having half the people who came to dine here last night walk out of the room. Mrs.——, your good old woman is the most infamous character that can be!'

[1] It should be remembered, in order to the due understanding of the magnitude of this difficulty, that precedence was, at that time, a matter of considerable importance in Van Diemen's Land: so much so, that a story was in vogue there of a dispute on the subject, before our arrival, so inveterate that it could only be settled by a reference to England, and a direct and authoritative decision on the matter by the Secretary of State!

and this was the woman to whom we had taken so much pains to give precedence, and with whom we had all been so delighted! It was impossible to avoid laughing at such a result of all our care and pains, though it *was* awkward; we find, however, on enquiry, that things are not quite so bad as A—— had heard; for, though there is some story or other against the lady, nobody seems to know exactly what it is; and she has been pretty generally received into society; instead of which we were at first told that she had never been admitted at Government House, till we gave her the precedence over everybody else there. At all events, whatever the history was, it was long ago, and I believe it is well known that she has been living most respectably for many years; if this is the case, it would be painful to be the first to 'cast a stone' at her; and W—— thinks we had better not rake up old stories, or know more than is forced upon us of the private feuds and jealousies of people about one another.

April 24.—Yesterday we went to dine with Sir John Pedder, the Chief Justice, and it was by way of being rather a formal affair, whereby I became initiated into one or two little matters of colonial etiquette, with which I was unacquainted before. In the first place, we found ourselves attended on the road by three mounted orderlies instead of two, and we were told that we ought to have had four (the whole amount of the troop); but old Sergeant O'Boyle, who makes the fourth, has had what he calls 'a percussion on the chest,' and is unable to ride. What sort of complaint the old man means to describe by this expression, I cannot make out, but he told Mr. C—— that Mr.—— (the staff-surgeon) had been examining his lungs with a *telescope*, and had given him great hopes of being soon better. Sir John Pedder came down to meet W—— at the hall door, a proceeding which took me so much by

surprise, that I was very near taking him for a servant, and passing him by without notice. When dinner was announced, Sir John, instead of leading the way, made W—— go first with Lady Pedder, and then followed himself with me; and all this A—— said was strict etiquette, though it is not often done; but my good man is not yet thoroughly *au fait* of all these things, and consequently, I am afraid, considerably wearied all the other gentlemen of the party, who expected him to make the move for them to come into the drawing-room after dinner, while he was waiting for the master of the house to do so. A——, who is experienced in colonial etiquette, and therefore knew what was expected, telegraphed expressive looks to him across the table, and did his possible to stimulate him into a move, but in vain; so they remained an incredible time in the dining-room, and at last W—— made a doubtful move in desperation, which was eagerly caught at by the rest, and out they came.

To Mrs. Denison.

Hobart Town, Good Friday, April 2, 1847.

My dearest Mother,—I have just returned from a trip of a week, during which I have visited the convict stations in Tasman's Peninsula, and elsewhere. I started on Tuesday morning at about six o'clock in a whale boat with six oars, accompanied by Captain Stanley and Dr. Hampton. We pulled down the harbour for a few miles, to a point where a narrow neck separated this from a broad sheet of water, called Frederick Henry Bay: there is a railway running across the neck, and a station with some convicts, who are employed in pushing the carriages across. The water is very shallow, and the railway runs out a great distance. When we arrived, we saw the carriages waiting for us; and when I say 'carriage,' I mean a sort of small waggon on a truck, into which we

got with our baggage, and were pushed across, a distance of about three-quarters of a mile. I must say that my feelings at seeing myself seated, and pushed along by these miserable convicts, were not very pleasant. It was painful to see them in the condition of slaves, which, in fact, they are, waiting for me up to their knees in water. We found another whale boat on the other side of the neck, into which we went, leaving our own boat to be passed over the neck to follow us, while we went on board a schooner which had been sent round the day before to meet us. We stood across Frederick Henry Bay in the schooner, and brought up opposite a convict station, where the men are employed in working coal mines. The coal is a species of anthracite, like some of the Welsh coal; it answers very well for the kitchen, but is dirty, and flies about too much to be used in the sitting rooms, where we burn either wood or English coal. I believe there is a quantity of very good coal in different parts of the country, but the cost of transport is so great as to prevent it being worked: as it is, the demand is sufficient to bring up the price of this coal at Hobart Town to about ten or eleven shillings per ton. The works on the shore where the coal is raised are badly managed. Fifty tons only are got out per diem by the labour of 150 men and a steam engine, whereas three times the quantity would be raised by private enterprise, with the labour of free men. Besides, the opening of the mine is at the top of a hill, and all the water has to be pumped out, and the coal raised to the hill top; instead of which, the whole mine might have been drained, and the coals run out at once on to the wharf, had an adit or gallery been driven into the hill side. I hope, however, to be able to arrange matters better soon. We landed, and inspected the convicts, calling upon those who had any complaints to make, to come forward and state them. Very few had anything to complain of except the sentence of transpor-

tation, which they of course do not admit to be just. We pulled down to another station about three miles distant in the next bay. This is used as an agricultural station; that is, the men are principally employed in cultivating and clearing ground, and have got one or two hundred acres cleared and cropped; but, as in all these cases, their labour is so badly employed as hardly to enable a man to raise vegetables and corn enough to maintain himself. I hope, however, very soon to introduce a better system, by which I shall enable a small number of men to produce food enough for the rest, who will then be employed in other profitable occupations. We slept on board the schooner, and the next morning found ourselves about five miles farther down the Bay, opposite to another station, where all the invalid convicts are collected. Here, of course, there is but little done, except that a few vegetables are grown in gardens. Another agricultural station is situated at the bottom of the bay. Having visited these two stations, we dined on board the schooner, and then pulled into a bight where there is a railway, leading across to Port Arthur. It is about five miles across the neck, and the ground in the middle is rather high, so that the four men who pushed our waggon had enough to do up the hill; it took us about three-quarters of an hour to get across. A boat met us on the opposite side, and carried us to the settlement, where we lodged with the Commandant. Port Arthur is a penal station, where the worst men are collected; there are upwards of a thousand men there working at a variety of trades; but their labour is not worth much. Upon the point to the east of the settlement, which is called Point Puer, is an establishment for boys. There have been as many as 800 there at one time, but there are not now more than 400, of all ages from ten to twenty. I am afraid no good has been hitherto produced upon these by the punishment; indeed

most of the offenders who have been capitally convicted in the colony are said to have been boys from this place. The young convicts are now building a station lower down the harbour, and do their work pretty well. I inspected the men at Port Arthur, and several stepped out to complain, and to ask me to interfere to remove them elsewhere. I felt great compassion for one poor fellow; he had come down there four years ago on a sentence for a year, but had, by misconduct, been kept there ever since. Sentence after sentence had been passed upon him, and he was then in irons for some breach of discipline. The poor fellow spoke to me with tears in his eyes, and, after thinking over his case at night, I decided to try whether I could not, by speaking to him, persuade him to attempt to keep himself out of the fangs of the law for a short time. I saw him the next morning, and spoke to him seriously, yet kindly; and the poor fellow said that nobody, since he had been in the colony, had ever spoken to him in that manner before. I told him that if he would conduct himself well for three months, I would release him; and I spoke to the officers at the station to give him a chance—not to be too hard upon him. The difficulty of reformation in a convict arises principally from the necessity for adopting rules and regulations for the guidance of the officers, and the impossibility of allowing them any discretion in their treatment of these unfortunates. Could a person be found in whose judgment one could entirely confide, allowances might be made for individual differences of character among the prisoners; their treatment might be settled to suit their dispositions, and there might then be some prospect of reformation amongst them. At present it is hardly to be hoped, for the religious instructor cannot find time to speak to the men individually, and any attempt to produce an effect upon their feelings by addressing them as a body, would require a man of talent, zeal, and energy, such as is seldom or

never met with. On Friday morning we recrossed the railroad and found a boat waiting for us, and pulled along the shore to Eagle Hawk Neck, which separates Frederick Henry Bay from the open ocean, where the schooner was waiting for us. On this neck we found a subaltern and a party of men; also a row of dogs chained to posts across from sea to sea. Lanterns are attached to these posts at night, and there are policemen in huts along both shores of the bay, in order to prevent the escape of men from the penal settlements in the peninsula. Many attempts, however, are made, and some successfully. A short time ago, three men were caught attempting to wade through the surf to the eastward of the neck; sometimes they construct a sort of canoe of wicker work, and trust themselves to the sea, and have been known to get across Storm Bay, the large bay to the southward of the island (upwards of twenty-five miles across) in these frail barks, in which no man who had any care for his life would trust himself.

We did not venture to weigh anchor till Sunday morning, as the wind was blowing heavily from the eastward. When we got out of the bay, we sailed along the coast, which is very bold and fine in its outline. We got to Maria Island in the afternoon, and went ashore to visit a station, which has been occupied as an agricultural one. There was a quantity of good land under cultivation, but a want of water, which is a deficiency generally complained of. We then went on in the night, and found ourselves in the morning abreast of a station called Rocky Hills. I inspected the station, and I have told the convicts what I was prepared to do to give them the prospect of gaining their liberty in a shorter time. I propose to employ them all at task-work, regulating the tasks so that a man could, by working hard, do in three days the task of four, and thus, if sentenced to remain there for four years, he might, by industry, work out his time in three years. They all

seemed very glad of this, and I hope, by thus giving them something to work for, I shall lead them to conduct themselves better, and at the same time create a habit of industry, which will be of use to them when they again become free. We sailed back in the afternoon to the head of Maria Island, and there we met the contents of an Irish convict ship just disembarked. They had marched from the lower station, about eight miles of bad road, and many of them were foot-sore. There were 200 English convicts just arrived at the same station; we propose to keep these men quite distinct from the others, and to see what we can make of them by a course of treatment different from that which has hitherto been pursued. The wind blew too hard from the S.W. to permit us to sail round the southern point of the island as we intended; so, leaving the schooner at anchor, we pulled up to another narrow neck, separating Frederick Henry Bay from the open sea, and this we crossed, boat and all, on a railway; but as we could not venture to pull across the bay against such a gale, we borrowed horses from a settler in the neighbourhood, followed a bush track to a point opposite Hobart Town, where we crossed the harbour, and got home about eight o'clock, after a ride of about thirty miles. These trips, which I shall be obliged to make pretty frequently, form a great treat in one's every-day routine, and a very useful one too. At present I have too many things to think of and do, to allow me to make them so frequently as I could wish, but next year I shall, I hope, have cleared away a good deal of the urgent matter I have in hand, and shall then have time to become acquainted with the country and the people. One can ride anywhere within the settled districts, though the roads are bad; in many instances one can drive in a gig or light carriage, and some of the main roads are as good as any in England.

God bless you, my dearest mother.

Your affectionate Son,

W. D.

Extracts from Journal.

May 19.—At last I am beginning again with my journal, which I have kept so irregularly of late, that I am afraid you will have begun to think that I never meant to go on with it again. However, you have had the main facts of our late existence revealed in two detached letters, written within the last fortnight, so that I may consider you to be pretty well *au fait* of all we *have been* doing. And now, if you wish to form an idea of what we *are* doing at this present moment, I can give it in three words, 'The Queen's Birthday;' for that is the great leviathan that is swallowing up everything else at present, and casting its influence, more or less, over every hour of our day. In the first place, the lower part of our house is undergoing a strange metamorphosis; every Government House certainly ought to be provided with a ball-room; the one at Launceston has one. Not so this, unfortunately, and the consequence is, that there is a regular framework of boards, kept for the purpose, and put up every year on this occasion, to form a temporary room, joining on to the dining-room; and another, enclosing the front verandah, to make a supper-room; and the result of this arrangement is, that all our lower rooms, except the drawing-room and little ante-room, will be deprived of the light of day till after Monday, by this said framework of boards coming in front of their windows. This process is now going on; the dining-room is already darkened, and the library, school-room, and housekeeper's-room, I suppose, will be in the course of to-morrow. So much for the outside of the house.

'But, oh! the little warlike world within!' I say 'warlike,' for you have no idea of the turmoil which this annual business excites; happily, not in our household, though all the troubles from without find their way here.

A—— and Mr. C—— spend the livelong day in writing notes. The invitations were sent out long ago, so you might have thought this part of the business was over, but no such thing; the real burden of writing is to begin; for every day brings a certain number of queries, addressed to the aide-de-camp from a variety of individuals, to know why they and their families have not been asked; to enquire whether His Excellency has heard anything prejudicial to their character, or whether it is considered that their situation disqualifies them from receiving the honour of an invitation; and stating that, in duty to themselves and their connections, they cannot allow such an insult to be passed unenquired into. Occasionally, some more than usually 'indignant correspondent,' disdaining the intervention of an aide-de-camp, writes to W—— himself, to demand his interference in doing away with the insult offered to the complainants and their families; and to-day, the climax has been put to the whole, by a regular official letter from the Ordnance clerks, transmitted through the Ordnance storekeeper to the commander of the forces, and through him to W——, announcing their intention of *writing home to the Board of Ordnance*, to complain of the indignity put upon them, by their not having received invitations; and to demand the support of the Board in *insisting* (such is their word), on being treated as their official situation demands. You must not suppose from all this, that we have been extraordinarily careless or clumsy in sending out the invitations, for this has not been the case. Mr. C—— and A—— have really taken an infinity of trouble; and, considering that they were both strangers in the colony, and that invitations had to be sent all over the island, to everybody holding a certain position in society, I think they have done wonders; for I do not believe they have left out a single person who was intended to be—or who ought to have been asked; and

the only mistake of any note which they have committed, as far as we yet know, was brought to light the other day, by a letter to Mr. C——, from an old lady living somewhere near Launceston, 120 miles off, complaining that she, who was *ninety years of age*, was the only one of her family who was asked to the ball, while none of her children or grandchildren had received invitations! In the midst of all this, poor W—— is not well to-day; he had a regular cold shivering fit this morning, like ague. Unless he is considerably better, I do not know how he will get through the day on Monday; in the first place, there is a review; then comes the levée, and then the ball. If W—— is not better, we have made up our minds to go to New Norfolk, the day after the Queen's birthday, for a little change of air.

Bush Inn, New Norfolk, May 25.—Everything went off yesterday better than I could possibly have expected, but the day was sadly damped by poor W——'s continued illness. We nursed him up in a sort of faint hope that he might be able to get through all the duties of the day, but we were obliged to give it up; and he had to send for the commanding officer of the troops, to tell him to take his place at the review. He got better, however, afterwards; at least the regular ague fit did not come on, so he dressed and went down to hold the levée, though I thought there was a painful contrast between the gay look of the uniform and the very pale face above it. Also he managed to come down stairs in the evening, just for the formal reception of guests, the sort of 'drawing-room' which ushered in the ball; and then he retired. The ball went off very well, and I must say that we had every reason to be satisfied with our guests, and with the line which we had drawn in our invitations; for we have heard since that it has been remarked, that this was the best conducted birthnight ball there had been for several years.

May 26.—We were amused this morning by seeing the departure from this inn, of a couple who had come down from Bothwell, or Hamilton, or some of those distant places, to our ball on Monday, and who slept here last night on their way home. This morning we saw them set out, both on horseback; the lady with a sort of bundle, containing, I suppose, her ball finery, hanging at the pommel of her saddle, the gentleman with a little knapsack, strapped in front of his. This is the way, I suppose, that everyone must travel in winter, to and from these out of the way places, as all, except the few great roads, are impassable in winter for carriages.

June 12.—Did I tell you, in any of my former letters, about the poor convict who touched W——'s feelings so much at Port Arthur?—a man who had been originally sentenced to remain there for one year, but who, having an irritable temper, was perpetually betrayed thereby into some little offence or other, which had the effect of lengthening his sentence by a few months at a time, till, when W—— was there in March, the poor man had been there five years. Well—a few days ago W—— received a good report of his behaviour, and, the day before yesterday, had the pleasure of signing his pass; this releases him from Port Arthur, which is the chief place of punishment in the colony, and allows him to engage in private service, instead of working in the gangs. His manner at the time when W—— spoke to him, and his better behaviour since, really looks as if the unwonted kindness had had a good effect upon his feelings.

Hobart Town, July 14.—We returned from New Norfolk this morning, as W—— wished to have three or four days at home, to get through various little businesses preparatory to the meeting of the Council on the 20th. It is a standing custom that all the members of the Council dine with the Governor on the day of its

opening; and I am to be 'at home' in the evening to all the lady Councillors and their daughters, and a number of other people.

July 20.—To-day is the meeting of the Council. I have just seen W—— off, and watched the little cavalcade from the door; and the guns are now announcing that he is on his way, in order that the members may be prepared to meet him. It is an amusing and not altogether a useless thing, I think, to be behind the scenes of these little actings of grandeur; to see what a great show may be made with little means, and after all, how much more of show than of reality there is in it. This philosophic reflection passed through my mind just now, when I was watching the order of march to the Council, and particularly the muster of horses for the occasion; for our stable was completely emptied, even to my horse and Mr. C——'s, to furnish forth the cavalcade, and it gave such an idea of having put forth all our power, and made every possible struggle to get up a little show, while there was an interior of poverty and emptiness, that I felt a great inclination to laugh, and to call to mind the old conundrum, 'What is Majesty, stripped of its externals?'

I hope W—— will get well through his speech, which is a very long one, in spite of his wish to make it as short as possible; but there are so many matters to be touched upon, that he could not abridge it any more: and my consolation is, that it is not nearly so long as Sir John Franklin's first opening speech was.

To Mrs. Denison.

Hobart Town, July 30, 1847.

My dear Mother,—It seems to me a long time since I have written to you, but W—— has been so regular in his letters, that you will have had no lack of information. I think he sent you a letter about ten days ago, in which

he gave you an account of all the difficulties and demurs he had had over the assembling of his Legislative Council. Such backwards and forwards work as there has been about it, you never saw; first, when the Council assembled, and the six members whom he had re-appointed were about to be sworn in, up got the Chief Justice, and gave it as his opinion that, by the terms of the Act, these six had no right to sit in the Council at all. This, of course, made a hindrance and a delay; and W—— though he made them proceed to swear in these doubtful members, adjourned the Council afterwards for a few days, in order to give time for the Chief Justice and other principal law people to consider the matter. In the course of their deliberations, one of them discovered that the six members of Council who had been nominated by Sir Eardley Wilmot had not been appointed according to the proper legal forms, and that therefore W——'s six, who were the original set that had resigned under Sir Eardley, were, and had ever been, the only legal councillors. This, we thought, must put an end to the difficulty, and W—— expected to carry on the business of the Council without any further impediment; when lo! some paper or document came to light, to prove that Sir Eardley's six members *were* legally appointed after all, and that therefore, W——'s were the illegal intruders. When the 'glorious uncertainties of the law' had reached this point, W—— thought the best plan would be to adjourn the Council altogether till he could receive from England the proper warrants for the appointment of his six members of Council; he consulted the members of the Executive Council, and they agreed in this opinion. So down went W—— to the Council, and adjourned them; and I suppose the immediate result to us will be, that we shall be at liberty to go up to New Norfolk as soon as the spring fairly sets in. The winter already seems to me to be nearly gone, as we have crocuses and narcissus in flower in our garden; but indeed, it has hardly seemed

like a winter at all, as we have had flowers the whole time; ever-blowing roses, mignionette, and stocks, and even an occasional geranium, for these continue to put forth a stray flower now and then, all through the winter; and no one ever thinks of taking them indoors, or protecting them in any way. Strips of snow on the top of Mount Wellington, and a very respectable cap of snow on some of the other hills a little further up the country, have been the only wintry-looking objects we have seen, though it has been quite cold enough, by dint of winds blowing from these hills, to make us enjoy abundance of fires and blankets. Our plans for the spring are, if all goes well with us, to make New Norfolk our head quarters for nearly three months: part of September, October, and November, and from thence to go over to Launceston, and make one or two other excursions about the island. Meanwhile, we are carrying on our winter and town duties, in the way of hospitalities, most briskly; and within the last week we have been making an attempt to introduce some little variety into the amusements of the place. One cannot dance always, and there is rather a dearth of the musical element in society here just at present; W—— suggested that we should propose to some of the young people of the place to try and get up a few 'tableaux vivants' from some of our prints. These we propose to have represented next Thursday; and I am afraid we shall have to ask a larger party on the occasion than I wished. I wanted it all to be kept as quiet as possible, but the intelligence has leaked out in a variety of ways, and now the whole place is in a state of expectation about it! Meanwhile, as a tableau vivant has never been seen before in Van Diemen's Land, and a very few, if any, of those who are to take a part, have ever seen one anywhere, we thought it would be expedient to let them practise their attitudes, &c. quietly first; therefore, our dinner list for yesterday was made up exclusively of those

who were to take a part in the tableaux, and we had a rehearsal in the evening, with no spectators but W—— and myself; and certainly, if we might judge by the perpetual bursts of laughter, we succeeded admirably in our principal object of amusing people, and drawing them comfortably together. The first tableau was Landseer's picture of Bolton Abbey: an opossum skin rug, with a pair of horns on the top of it, and little George H—— lying under it to stuff it out, stood for the stag; the other animals we were obliged to dispense with last night, but for next Thursday we are to have one of our own geese to personate the swan (our geese are swans!) and, I suppose, make out the rest with fowls, &c. This first effort went off very well, the Abbot and the Friar represented their parts of the picture admirably, both in point of dress and attitude; so did Miss——, who had imitated the fish girl's dress very well, and kept her countenance to perfection; only she ended by dropping her fish tray, which was one of our straw screens for the backs of chairs. The finale of this scene was, that Captain——, the only unworthy member of our company, who represented the man holding the stag, was unable to resist the temptation of giving G. H—— a pinch. The hapless stag made a sort of bound, and, at the same moment, the Abbot, in an agony of suppressed laughter, and undisguised struggles to hold on his beard, which was dropping off, was seen slowly raising the roll of paper he holds in his hand higher and higher before his face to hide both these defects; so the only thing to be done was to draw the curtain quickly.

Tableau No. 2 was the print of Hamlet and the Queen looking back in horror at the ghost: the performers were to be Mrs. M—— and Mr. C——; but what was to be done for a ghost? C—— and Mr. C—— canvassed the men-servants, but in vain: none of them would be ghost, so, at the last moment, they fell upon the tailor, who had come up to bring C——'s dress for the last tableau,

and who consented to be equipped in a white sheet, and, to do him justice, kept his countenance admirably, better indeed, than the other two, who both ended in a fit of laughter, though they kept still long enough to make it really one of the best tableaux of the whole set.

Next followed two very good ones from the same book, Liverseege's works—Friar Tuck drinking and Friar Tuck asleep; and after this followed the best tableau decidedly of the whole evening, the escape of Carrara, from a print that you will remember well. The tableau which we had reserved for the last—Lochinvar entering Netherby Hall—was the only failure, and this chiefly for want of room.

August 8.—Our tableaux went off last night with such brilliant success as quite, I believe, to surpass the expectations that had been entertained of them. Everybody was delighted, everybody seemed to think that it was a great thing to have introduced a variety into the amusements of the place; some even seemed to feel that it would do good, in inducing people to read, and know something of the literary and historical subjects, that are most likely to be represented in pictures and tableaux. Carrara seemed to be the general favourite, and was eagerly called for a third time, each of the other groups being represented twice,—that is to say with a pause of about a minute between, during which the curtain was drawn in front, to allow the performers to rest and relax their attitudes. We made the band play appropriate tunes at the appearance of each tableau, thus: solemn music for the ghost, a sort of drinking song tune for Friar Tuck, and a blast of the trumpet for Carrara, that might be supposed to proceed from the enemies in pursuit. We had a magnificent ghost painted, which really looked enough to frighten anybody; and somebody lent a real deer's skin and horns for the stag in Bolton Abbey.

Extracts from Journal.

Hobart Town, August 10, 1847.

We are told that our tableaux have given quite a stir to people's thoughts and conversation, and that since that night everybody has been reading 'Marmion' and 'Ivanhoe'! and if our tableaux have been the means of inducing them once to begin looking into these books, they must be dull and insensible indeed, if Walter Scott does not prove to be his own best recommendation, to induce them to go on. With all this encouragement, I, at least, am entering on the preparation for the second set of tableaux with far better heart than I had about it a few days ago. Most of those we have proposed for it are taken from Shakespeare. The print of the Taming of the Shrew is one; Shylock and Jessica another; and Hermione appearing as the statue another; and I suppose this intention has got wind somehow, for somebody asked Mr. C—— last night at the Sheriff's house, where he was dining, whether he could lend him *Spenser's* '*Faerie Queen*,' to read the 'Winter's Tale in!' This set will be all we propose to have this year, as it will be a sort of wind-up to the gay season.

August 12.—I have got a great piece of business on my hands here, and I do not know whether I shall be able to carry it through successfully or not; it is no less than trying to set properly going again the infant schools here, one of which has fallen altogether into decay, and the other seems to be proceeding as it can, without much management or supervision. When we first came here, or soon after, we were asked to be patron and patroness of the Infant School Society; and as I did not want merely to give them our names, without doing any thing to help them, I went shortly after to see the schools, and asked to have one of their reports sent me. No such thing as a report existed; but they would make me out a statement of the condition of their funds, &c. For this statement I

waited and waited in vain: then I pursued my enquiries, and found that the nominal committee of the society never met; that there was no system of visiting arranged amongst them;—no reports published as to their condition. Besides this, there has been some split about it between the Church of England and the Dissenters, in which I suspect both parties have been to blame, though I have heard only the one side of the story, by which they would try to throw the fault upon our Church. Be that as it may, the Church of England clergy have taken no heed of the school; and the consequence is, that what little management there is, rests almost entirely with the Dissenters, chiefly the Presbyterians, who are here an active, united body. Such is the hopeful state of things at present, but W—— encourages me to try. My first step has been to call on one or two of the ladies who belong to the nominal committee, and persuade them to convene a meeting of their whole body on Tuesday next, at which I have promised to attend. There we shall try to arrange some regular plan of visiting the schools; and I am to point out to them that, as there are two schools to be visited, they will want more ladies to join them. Meantime, I am, by W——'s advice, speaking to one or two of the ladies of the place, as I meet them, to know if they will be willing, by and by, to take a share in this visiting; especially I hope to get most of the wives of the principal Government officers to do so; for as Government gives 100*l.* a year to these schools, Government people ought, I think, to take an interest in their management.

August 18.—I had my infant school meeting yesterday, and it was rather formidable; for some of the gentlemen of the Committee chose to be there, as well as the ladies. However, there was one person there I was much pleased to see; and this was Mr. P——, the only clergyman of our own Church who seems to take any heed or interest about it, and I was very glad to have him as a helper. There

was a great deal of useless talk, as there always is; but we succeeded at last in my principal object, that of establishing some regular system of visiting the schools; and naming the ladies who are to be visitors until the next monthly meeting. Hitherto, what little visiting has taken place, has been on established days; which seems to me a most unwise plan, as of course the mistress would have her school in good order on those days, but no one knows what might go on there in the interval. However, the lady visitors have promised now to go at irregular times, so as to be a constant check upon her. You have no idea of the state of neglect and confusion they have been in altogether. I asked some questions about their funds, and then it appeared that no account had been kept since August 1844! and all they knew was that at that time they were considerably in debt. I asked who was their treasurer? and even this they did not know: A Mr. W—— had been; but he had never attended their meetings for so long, that they did not know whether he had given it up or not. I asked what had become of the money they got from a bazaar, which was held here for them in February, and to this I got no satisfactory answer; I asked, whether they had many subscribers, and the answer I got was, that they were all subscribers, but that no one paid their subscription regularly!

I confess my patience was somewhat tried in the course of these proceedings, and yet it is impossible not to laugh at such a deplorable description! W—— gave one of his roars of laughter when I told him of it. It seemed altogether such a chaos, that I hardly knew where or how to begin, and no one else seemed to have any suggestion to make. All agreed that they were in a mess, but no one seemed to know how to get out of it; so at last I was obliged to suggest that they ought to come to some understanding with this Mr. W——, as to whether he was or was not to be considered as treasurer; and that he

and the whole committee, gentlemen as well as ladies, should be asked to come together at the next monthly meeting, that they might take the state of their funds into consideration, and establish some system of keeping accounts and collecting subscriptions. In the meaii time the school is to be regularly visited, as agreed upon; so I hope we did some good; but it was a disagreeable piece of work altogether.

September 11.—The Protestant Dissenters here are, I hope, beginning to find out that they were mistaken in supposing W—— to be actuated by such a bigoted, sectarian spirit as, I suspect, they were at one time inclined to attribute to him.* It is strange to see, here, how any effort, made either by, or in behalf of, any one church or sect, seems immediately to provoke a spirit of jealous rivalship on the part of some other. In the present case, the Scotch and Protestant Dissenters were roused to jealousy by W——'s grant of a good piece of land to the Hutchins School; and they instantly began subscribing, or promising to subscribe, towards another school, which they determined to erect, apparently from a desire not to be outdone by the Church of England. W—— has, I hope, done something towards disarming their jealous feeling, and has, at the same time, rather surprised them, by promising them a good grant of land too, whenever they shall have collected funds sufficient to enable them to build; and he has given them a *little* donation of money towards it too. The whole business rather puts me in mind of what St. Paul says about 'preaching Christ out of envy and strife,' and about the good which really resulted, even though the work was undertaken from such bad motives; and it is to be hoped that good may come at last out of this church and school rivalship here.

To Mrs. Denison.

End of August, 1847.

My dearest Mother,—Our winter, such as it is, has passed away; the fruit trees, though this month only corresponds to February, are beginning to blossom, and a very glorious show they will soon make. I have had one day's hunting, and was very well pleased with the sport, and felt that the exercise had done me good. We hunt kangaroo instead of fox, and very absurd it looks to see the animal taking long jumps, and dodging about even in the midst of the hounds; but they never catch him till he is fairly exhausted, however close they may be to him at first. We hunt usually the brush kangaroo, a small species; there is another kind known by various names, such as Boomah, Forester, Flying Doe, &c., which is much larger, standing sometimes full seven feet high, and which has been known to give a run of from sixteen to twenty miles. The bush is full of flowers; there are several varieties of Epacris, both pink and white, forming, with other low-growing shrubs, a sort of coloured carpet to the ground, while the trees, the Wattle, or Acacia especially, are showing their bright yellow blossoms, contrasting pleasantly with the dingy olive green of the gum trees. I am in the midst of a somewhat annoying discussion on the subject of education. The Presbyterians, a very active body, are angry with me for having complied with Mr. Gladstone's wishes, and given some aid to the schools of the Church of England and those of the Roman Catholics. The Government had been persuaded, principally by the Presbyterians and Dissenters, to adopt a system of education based upon that of the British and Foreign School Society; to this the Church of England objected, as did also the Church of Rome; and these, forming about five-sixths of the population, have been obliged, hitherto, to do without assistance, or to submit to a system of which they disapproved. I have objected

to this dog-in-the-manger mode of dealing with such a subject, and have given a share of the funds set apart for education to all those who require it. I hope, however, to be able to break up the whole system before long, and to substitute a better. The Presbyterians are at issue with me in another matter; they form the working part of the paving and lighting board, and having declined to act, have attempted to impose on the Government the charge of keeping the streets in repair, for which they were specially appointed. I have declined to adopt their suggestion, upon the principle, which I am preparing to carry out generally, that the people themselves must look after their local interests, and that the Government is not only not called upon to interfere in such matters, but is positively doing harm by such interference. This is a lesson which will be rather difficult at first, for the people have been in the habit of calling upon the Government to assist them in everything, and should learn to help themselves.

Your affectionate Son,

W. D.

Extracts from Journal.

Hobart Town, September 1, 1847.

W—— went yesterday to lay the first stone of the new 'Hutchins School,' as it is called; it is a school in connection with the Church of England College.

We had a fine day for the ceremony; the Archdeacon and senior Chaplain, the Warden and Trustees of the College, the head master of the Hutchins School, the architect and members of the building committee,—in short, everybody connected with the business of the day, dined with us in the evening; and this dinner gave us an opportunity, which we were very glad to seize, of making it up with a poor man, whose punishment has, I think, been much greater than his offence. This was Dr. ——, a medical man here, who was offended with us for not

having asked him and his wife to dinner so soon after our arrival as they thought they ought to have been asked; and therefore, when the Queen's birthday approached, and they, amongst others, were invited to the ball, they wrote in answer a very foolish note, saying that, 'with every possible feeling of loyalty and affection towards Her Majesty, they must decline accepting His Excellency's invitation, on account of their never having yet been received as guests at Government House.' Of course we laughed heartily over this note, and thought very little more about it; but it appears that the foolish man, not content with writing this note, went about boasting of what he had done; and the consequence was, not only that he got extremely laughed at, but that people took the thing up much more warmly than it deserved; so much so, that I am told that he was really suffering in his profession by it; absolutely, I imagine, losing credit, and thereby practice. Besides this, he was considered to have completely shut himself out from Government House by this unlucky note, and as the being, or not being, admitted here is, in this place, considered as the great criterion of a person's social position, he was, in consequence, being dropped out of society altogether.

We, meanwhile, had no inclination to resent the note, and, even before we knew the extent to which other people's resentment had been carried, we had determined to take an opportunity of asking them again; and this Hutchins School business gave us exactly the opportunity we desired, for Dr. —— is one of the building committee, and a very active and influential man amongst them.

During the months of October, November, and December, we made our head quarters at the Government Cottage, New Norfolk, and from thence made an excursion across the country to Launceston, by the same route

which I had previously travelled in February. We travelled in our own carriage, but as no relays of horses were to be procured on the road, we hired six horses for the journey, and making these relieve each other, we got on at the rate of between thirty and forty miles per day, being hospitably received each night at the houses of the settlers near the road. I subjoin extracts from letters giving an account of our doings at Launceston.

Extracts from Journal.

Government Cottage, Launceston, October 23.

We came here yesterday afternoon. This town itself, though not having to boast of anything like the beauty of Hobart Town, still looks pretty from the top of the hill, where you catch the first sight of it. We were received here with great form and state; when we got to the top of this above-mentioned hill, we found waiting there a little cluster of gentlemen on horseback from the town and neighbourhood, who had ridden out so far to meet us, and accompany us in; and with this cortége we proceeded into the town. The scene there became very amusing; Colonel B——, who commands the regiment stationed here, is much more particular about forms and etiquettes than the military authorities of Hobart Town; and accordingly he had made every possible preparation for receiving W——. The road was indescribably bad; for, strange to say, the streets, both of Hobart Town and Launceston, are much less well kept than the main lines of road in the country, and two nights' continued rain had not improved them; so, through the midst of all this 'pomp and circumstance' of preparation, we went struggling and floundering on, our carriage rocking and shaking to its very centre, and W——, with his hat off in acknowledgment of the presented arms of the soldiers, looking anxiously forward, and perpetually ejaculating, in a sort of half-aside tone, his old exclama-

tion, 'By the *Lord Harry*, we shall overturn!' However, no such calamity befell us; and in due time we safely reached this little cottage, the appearance of which very much pleased me. It is prettily situated, looking down over nice gardens (partly belonging to itself, and partly to the Botanical Society), to the two rivers, North Esk and South Esk, which meet here. After we had been here a little while, we agreed to walk down to the Botanical Gardens, where there was a horticultural show going on, and where, as we were told, people were a little disappointed at not seeing us. As far as the show was concerned, we were too late, for it was over, and the flowers were being removed; but we had a nice walk round the gardens, and, at all events, showed people that we had done our best, by joining them there in a few minutes after our arrival. We returned here to dine quietly and alone, and then had to dress for the ball, which we had promised to attend, and which, it seems, is an annual one, given by the Scotch residents in this town and neighbourhood, and thence called St. Andrew's ball.

October 24, 1847.—Yesterday afternoon we took a walk to a place called 'the Cataract,' about a mile and a half from Launceston, where the river South Esk seems to have burst through a range of rocky hills, and comes pouring down through a narrow gorge, whose wild beauty exceeds, I think, that of any place I have yet seen here. Fancy a very narrow valley, so narrow that it has every appearance of a rent made in the hills by some sudden convulsion; and, on the sides of these hills, enormous masses of basaltic rock tumbled about in all sorts of forms and positions. These masses look more like a great natural Stonehenge than anything else I can think of; some stand quite upright, some are planted on such narrow bases, that you almost fancy they must topple over and crush you as you pass by. In the clefts of these rocks, and between and above them, on both sides of the

valley, are the most beautiful wild flowers and flowering shrubs; one is a sort of little wild geranium, sticking in between the rocks, and growing everywhere; another a large shrub covered with bright lilac or purple, looking at a distance more like English lilacs in flower than anything else, though the flower is not the least like them when you are near it. Hanging in festoons amongst these purple shrubs is a white creeper of the clematis kind, though of a brighter and purer white than the common clematis. There are trees, too, clinging apparently to the steep sides of the valley, and overhanging the rocks; and at the bottom of all runs the river, foaming and tumbling over masses of rock, like those on the sides of the hills; in one or two places it seems to have an interval of rest, and there it expands into a little basin, as still as possible, where men fish, and where you scarcely see a ripple on the water. A few steps lower, and there is a sudden change; it meets the masses of rock, and becomes a cataract again. Oh, it is beautiful! and I longed for the power of making a sketch of it.

October 30, 1847.—'Ah! Beaujeu, mon cher ami, que mon métier de prince est ennuyant, parfois!' So said Prince Charles Edward, in a scene you will remember in 'Waverley;' so said W—— to me last night, as I sat, and he stood, lingering about in our dining-room, awaiting the arrival of our guests for the evening's ball. There is a ball-room attached to this cottage, and we were to receive our guests in the dining-room, as being the nearest room to the ball-room. So there, about nine o'clock, W—— and I took our post, and a weary wait we had, for, alas! Launceston boasts but two cabs, so our guests kept arriving by a cab load at a time, with a long wait between each arrival. Each party, as soon as bows and courtesies had been made, straggled off to the ball-room, where a sort of feeble attempt was being made to form and keep up

dances, while W—— and I were left 'alone in our glory.' We did not dare to leave our post, for fear that people should arrive during our absence, but we felt that we must be looking somewhat absurd. Times, however, mended as the evening wore on; the room got pretty full; C——kept the dancers going with great spirit, and all seemed to enjoy themselves. We had a stand-up supper in a tent pitched for the occasion, and then dancing recommenced, and was kept up till half-past two.

November 2. — Since I wrote last, we have been spending our time very quietly, till to-day, which has been anything but a quiet one. The history thereof is this. A short time ago a despatch was sent from England, directing that all the convicts now remaining in New South Wales should be sent down here. Now as the people here, in compliance with their earnest desire, had lately received a promise from the Home Government that transportation from England to this colony should cease, they were, I think, naturally indignant at having the promise thus kept to the ear, and broken to the hope; and all the more so, because the convicts now left in New South Wales are chiefly, if not entirely, of the worst class, the doubly and trebly convicted, who have been so bad as to undergo repeated sentences. On this side of the island especially, the feeling has been most violent, but in the blindness of their anger, they conceived the idea that Mr. Hampton, the Comptroller General, had had a great hand in inducing the Home Government to adopt this measure, and that W—— was inclined to support it, and determined to carry it through in defiance of the feelings of the colonists; the real truth all the time being, that W—— was considering what he could do to avert or postpone the threatened measure, and that Mr. Hampton had suggested to him the propriety of communicating with the Governor of New South Wales, in order to stop at all events the worst class of

the convicts from being sent here; a suggestion which W—— had adopted. The public, however, knew nothing of this; so they called a meeting, in which it was voted that a petition should be sent to the Queen, praying her to revoke the order for sending these convicts here; and that in the meantime a deputation should wait on W——, praying him at all events to suspend the execution of the measure till an answer to their petition could be received from home. W—— promised to receive this deputation to-day at twelve o'clock, and it has not been a very easy task so to word his answer, as to state what he had done, and what he meant to do, without committing himself too far, or pledging himself to anything which he might not after all find himself able to perform; for the Governor of New South Wales has something to say to the matter, and I do not know that W—— could postpone the measure without his concurrence. The language at the public meeting was of rather a violent nature, the orators all evidently proceeding on the assumption that W—— meant to return an unfavourable answer to their deputation.

Placards, too, were posted up, and cried and hawked about the streets this morning, inviting all the colonists to leave their ploughs, and I do not know what else, to muster and borrow all the horses they could lay their hands on, and come 'en masse' to Government House with the deputation, in order to let the Governor see and hear that the people were determined to speak for themselves. Having heard of all this agitation, I was not a little pleased to find that, from a quiet corner of a window in my own bedroom, I could see the arrival of this stormy deputation without being seen myself; and I amused myself with imagining their astonishment on receiving an answer so different from the one they evidently expected, and finding how completely they had wasted their rage, as far as W—— was concerned. I watched the deputation in

and out; the great mass, that was to come to make a demonstration, had the discretion to remain at the gates; and not more than between fifty and sixty came into the grounds. Of these, thirty-nine walked in, completely filling our little dining-room, in which W—— received them; and the rest waited outside. I tried, but in vain, to gather some indication of the feelings excited, from the hasty and imperfect view, which was all I could get of the countenances of the thirty-nine, as they came out; but it did my heart good to hear the bursts of cheering which arose from the town, when the answer to the deputation was read, (as I am told it was, twice over,) to the crowd who were assembled to hear the result. W—— maintains a steady indifference to all these demonstrations, and goes on doing what he thinks right, equally regardless of the praise or censure of these uproarious heroes of the public meetings; but I own I am not quite so indifferent, and that I could not but rejoice on finding the violent feeling of the morning changed into one of such decided, though noisy approbation.

November 3.—We were to have begun our homeward journey to-day, as we were going a little out of our way to pay a visit, but as W—— is not very well, we have decided on remaining here quietly till to-morrow, and then going straight back, sleeping to-morrow night at a place called Ross, on Friday at Spring Hill, and on Saturday, we trust, at New Norfolk.

Hobart Town, December 1, 1847.—We came down here from New Norfolk yesterday, to assist in the celebration of 'Tasman's Day,' so called as being the anniversary of the discovery of the island by 'Tasman.' The morning set in just as I expected it would: squally, showery, and bitterly cold. This uncertain climate is surely not suited to regattas; less so, perhaps, even than that of England, because here there is so much more wind, and the changes, both of wind and weather, are so

much more sudden. The day was ushered in by the sound of the first peal of bells, I believe, that has ever been heard in the southern hemisphere, or at least in Australia; it has amused me to hear many of the young people who have been born here, say that they never heard a peal of bells, and express their curiosity to hear these. The bells have recently been purchased by subscription, and brought out from England for the new church, which is now nearly finished here. Great exertions have been made to get them put up in time to ring their first peal to-day. I thought they should have reserved this honour for Christmas Day; but it seems that this, the birthday, as one may call it, of the island into the civilised world, is the great day of the year here. At nine o'clock it was announced that our boat was ready; we trudged down to the wharf, in the teeth of a driving shower, to head a large flotilla, or procession of boats, from thence to the regatta ground. When we had passed the ships in the harbour, which all saluted as we went by, the sight became a very pretty and pleasing one; the sun was beginning to shine out, and a sea breeze just setting in, was rolling back the clouds before it from the top of Mount Wellington, till the whole mass of mountain at length stood out just as if a curtain had been drawn from before it. I think the gradual rolling up of the clouds and appearance of the mountain from behind them, was by far the finest sight of the day. Soon after we arrived at our station, the boat-races commenced, and very good, on the whole, they were; most of them closely contested to the very last. We were in a raised stand, some way back from the landing place; and as each race was won, the winning boat was carried up to the front of the stand on men's shoulders, preceded by the band playing, 'See the conquering hero comes,' or some other triumphant air. By the middle of the day, I became so tired, that I was glad to decline the invitation of the

committee of management to accompany W—— to a large luncheon; so I retired to sit in our own delightful garden, in the domain close to which the regatta was held. W—— having been to the luncheon, and presented the prizes, joined me there afterwards, the carriage met us there, and we drove home, both very tired, and rejoicing that Tasman's Day only comes once in a year!

New Norfolk, December 20, 1847.—We are making gigantic preparations for Christmas Day; larger, indeed, than I quite intended or wished. Our original idea was merely to give a Christmas dinner to our farm labourers here, and their wives and families, and the men and boys who have been getting in our hay, and tying our hops; and for these I thought our servants could manage to provide without much difficulty: it was, however, with a mixture of pleasure and horror that, last night, I received a note from W——, who was at Hobart Town, saying that he had invited a party of blacks (the natives of the island) for the same day; and that I must provide a dinner for them also. He tells me that he will, if possible, send up materials to pitch a tent for them, as he does not want them to be mixed up with our men: so I have been, the whole morning, in a fever of providing tables and benches, knives and forks, plates and mugs, for this number of guests. But I must give you the history of these poor blacks, of whom I have never said anything as yet. You probably know that when the English began to settle in this country, all the convicts and wretches we brought with us, to say nothing of the free inhabitants, who, I believe, were nearly as bad, were by no means particular as to their behaviour to the unfortunate aborigines. The consequence of this was, that mutual hostilities were continually carried on, till the English put an end to them by capturing all the natives (except some few who are still supposed to be lingering in the unknown western parts of the island), and conveying them to Flinders Island,

where they formed an establishment for them, and appointed people to take care of them. But the poor creatures were not happy there; they pined for their own country, which, I believe, can just be seen from Flinders Island; and besides, they were not always well or judiciously treated by the people who had the charge of them. When we came here, therefore, W—— very soon determined on bringing them back again. Several people opposed the measure; but fortunately, though W—— had acted upon his own responsibility in bringing it forward, a despatch arrived from the Secretary of State ordering the very same thing, the bringing back of the natives, just in time to silence all opposition. The poor creatures were very much pleased at their return; and they are now established at a place called Oyster Cove, near the coast, some miles below Hobart Town. W—— has done his possible to calm the fears of the people who expressed alarm at the idea of their return, by publishing accounts of their numbers and condition; and certainly, now that it is known that there are but, in all, fourteen men, twenty-two women, and ten children, and that, of these fourteen men, one is blind, one idiotic, and four or five others have been brought up either in the orphan school or in the service of English people, and are, therefore, to a certain extent, trained to English habits, nothing can seem more absurd than the fears which have been expressed (under the disguise of humanity), lest the return of these unfortunates should again lead to quarrels between them and the English, which would end in the extermination of the whole native race. For the same reason, W—— wishes occasionally to bring parties of them up to Hobart Town and the neighbourhood, in order to let people see how perfectly inoffensive they are; and the reason why he asked them to come up here just at this time is, that they (the blacks) have agreed to put their children into the

Orphan School at Hobart Town, and as the parents were coming up with the children, to see, I suppose, the place to which they were going, W—— determined, at Captain Stanley's suggestion, to bring both parents and children on here for a day's pleasure before they launched them at the school. I am very glad they are going to dispose of the children in this manner; and almost equally glad that, desirable as the plan may seem, it was not finally settled without the consent of the parents. For the poor parents themselves, though attempts have been made, and are still making, to give them some instruction, I believe it is but very little they are capable of receiving; and therefore it seems that the only atonement which we, their conquerors, can make for all the wrongs done them, is, to do our best, certainly, little as that is, in the way of instruction, and, at the same time, to make them as comfortable and as happy as we can, in their own way, for the remainder of their lives. They are decreasing and dwindling away, as the dark races always seem to do before the white man; but the idea is, that there may be a possibility of hope for the children, that, by taking them in hand thus early, they may be trained into civilised and Christian beings.

December 27, 1847.—We had a most amusing afternoon with our black guests; we had fixed their dinner hour for two o'clock, in order to give us time to return from church before their arrival. *En passant*, I must tell you, that the church looked remarkably pretty on that day, for which I partly take credit to myself; inasmuch as it was I who stimulated Archdeacon M—— to follow the English fashion of having his church dressed for Christmas Day, which he had not thought of doing. We cannot, indeed, have the charm of the English holly and mistletoe, and it is a great trial to our feelings to have Christmas coming in the middle of summer; still, however, it seems a pity, that, since such is the case, the summer flowers should not be made use of for the purpose.

Decorated, accordingly, the church was: the prettiest part of the whole was the font, which was hung round with a most beautiful festoon of white lilies; a sprig of jasmine was stuck into my corner of our pew; and the rest of the church was ornamented with ferns and other native plants, which, being evergreens, will last as long as those in the English churches do, long after the lilies and the jasmine have gone to decay. When we returned from church, we awaited the arrival of our guests; the white ones, viz. the farm labourers and their families, arrived first, took their post under the larger of the two tents we had had put up in the grounds, and were well advanced in their meal before it was announced that the blacks were coming. In they came, fourteen of them, packed in two carriages, sitting on one another's knees, or squatted at the bottom of the vehicles, evidently not caring how, in the intense delight and novelty of their visit. W—— and I received them at the hall-door, shook hands with them, and walked before them to their tent, where we very soon got them all seated. Spreadborough and Parkinson carved for them, and we all (the children included) helped to wait on them. It was comical to see their evident effort to remember what had been, before their arrival, duly impressed upon them, as I afterwards heard, viz.: that it was not considered good manners to eat with their fingers; but they handled their knives and forks very cleverly, on the whole; and their appetites certainly seem almost boundless. After they had devoured immense quantities of beef and plum pudding, we gave them pipes and tobacco, for which both men and women have a great relish; but some of them appeared to think that half the virtue consisted in the length of the pipe, anxiously picking out the longest of those presented to their choice, and contemptuously rejecting the shorter ones. Meantime the children, who did not smoke, were regaled with abundance of fruit and lolly-pops. While

this was going on, W—— and I made a short digression to the labourers' tent, to enable W—— to drink 'a merry Christmas and happy New Year' to them all, a toast which was received with great applause; but we did not stay there long, for the black tent was evidently the great attraction, and thither went all the white visitors, when their own meal was concluded, to watch the goings on. Hither, too, came half New Norfolk, or more than half, I should think. We had asked all our own acquaintance to come down and look at our festivities; and the rest of the inhabitants of the township had asked themselves, it seems, and got in somehow or other in the bustle, the great object with all being to see the blacks, whose coming had created a great sensation. However, all were quiet and orderly: no one was rude to the blacks, and they, I think, were rather gratified than otherwise at being the objects of so much attention. When they had smoked and eaten fruit for some time, we began distributing our presents amongst them; shawls, coloured handkerchiefs, and bead necklaces to the women and girls, cloth caps and coloured worsted comforters to the men and boys. Most of these articles of finery were instantly put on over their other clothes; and then the sports began. A rope, hung between two trees, served for a swing, which amused them much for a little while; but the great delight was when we gave them a ball, and set them to play at rounders, a game which they are accustomed to play, and in which they certainly excel. Men, women, and children, all played together, and all equally well; and I scarcely knew which to admire most, their skill in aiming the ball, or the dexterous and extraordinary twists of their bodies and limbs, by which they avoided it, when aimed at them. Then, their unwearied energy, and unfailing and intense enjoyment of the game, their extraordinary shrieks of delight, and their perfect good humour over it all, made it a really plea-

sant as well as amusing scene; and the invited and uninvited white population of New Norfolk formed a large and admiring circle round them, and seemed never tired of watching them. But you will want to know something of the names, appearances, &c. of our guests. There were four men; their names, Walter (who calls himself a chief, but is not as great, evidently, in the eyes of his companions as in his own), Eugene, Nomy, and Neptune; three boys, Billy, Adam, and Moriarty (the last, I imagine, named after Captain Moriarty, the port officer). Of the women, the most remarkable character was Marianne, the chieftainess, Walter's wife: an immense, stout, masculine-looking creature, apparently a person of far more influence than her husband. I could not catch all the women's names: there was one called 'old Sarah,' Marianne's mother; two called Martha and Nanny, whom I did not learn to distinguish from one another, and two girls called Methinna and Hannah. They spoke a very comical sort of broken English: one very favourite expression of theirs is 'gammon,' a word whose meaning they are quite aware of; and they have not the least hesitation in applying it to anything you tell them, which seems to them at all surprising, or difficult to believe. They were a little inclined to think it was 'gammon' when they were told that W—— was the Governor, whom they had come to see, because, as they remarked, he had not got a *cocked hat on*; and one or two other facts which we told them (real facts, for we had no intention of taking them in), were unhesitatingly pronounced by them to be 'gammon.' The word 'fellow' is also very common, and applied to both sexes indiscriminately; thus, in the course of the evening, old Sarah gave it as her opinion that Mrs. S—— was 'a fine fellow;' and when I asked Marianne the age of one of the girls, she at first shook her head, intimating that she did not know, then assured me in general terms, that the girl was 'old fellow,' and

afterwards answered my question through the medium of Dr. M—— (who has for some time had the care of these blacks, and who was with them), by naming to him certain events which had happened about the time of the birth of this girl, from which he deduced for me that the said 'old fellow' must be about thirteen or fourteen years old. Our guests departed about six o'clock, in the same order in which they had come. We shook hands all round, and promised to pay them a visit some day at Oyster Cove, and they drove off, having, I really believe, thoroughly enjoyed themselves.

CHAPTER III.

OPENING OF THE YEAR 1848—DÉMÊLÉ WITH THE JUDGES—NATIVE CHILDREN AT ORPHAN SCHOOL—ARRIVAL OF WARRANTS, AND PROPOSED OPENING OF LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL—THOUGHTS ON ANNIVERSARY OF LANDING—REQUEST OF JUDGE M—— TO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL TO PAY HIS DEBT—VISIT FROM NATIVES, AND TO NATIVE CHILDREN—EPISODES CONCERNING THE PASSING OF 'DOUBTS' BILL'—CHARACTER OF WEATHER AND CLIMATE—ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH A 'FEMALE REFUGE'—GEORGE WASHINGTON WALKER—BAZAAR—ODD WISH ABOUT IT—VISIT FROM NATIVES—TRIP DOWN D'ENTRECASTEAUX'S CHANNEL—JOURNEY TO HAMILTON—MANAGEMENT OF ESTATES—JOURNEY TO AVOCA—SEAM OF COAL—ARCHDEACON M.'S WEDDING—DIFFICULTIES OF WEDDING TOUR—MR. ——'S MOTION IN COUNCIL FOR POSTPONEMENT OF ESTIMATES—CONDUCT OF NON-OFFICIAL MEMBERS—BURSTING OF THE 'JUDGE' STORM.

THE year 1848 commenced unpleasantly. I had to bring under the notice of the Executive Council the conduct of one of the judges, who, having borrowed a small sum of money, and allowed the debt to run on from year to year, accumulating at compound interest, at last tired out the patience of his creditor, who demanded his money. The reply was a refusal, on the part of the judge, to pay the debt; and, when threatened with an action, he set the creditor at defiance, pointing out to him the impossibility of suing a judge in a court of which he was an integral part; for, though there are two judges, there is but one court, and it would be impossible, or at all events illegal, to bring the legality of the conduct of one of these judges under the cognisance of his learned brother. Such, at all events, I was told to be law. The man being thus deprived of his legal remedy, appealed to me, and I, thinking that a judge who could take advantage of his position for the purpose of defrauding his creditors was

not fit to have a seat on the Bench, proposed to dispense with his services. I luckily had a precedent for my guidance, or rather for my warning, as to the mode of proceeding in ejecting a judge, in the conduct of Sir George Gipps, who had occasion to dismiss a judge, but had failed to get rid of him, merely by not adhering strictly to the form of proceeding laid down in the statute. I was careful, therefore, to take good legal advice as to the proper course of proceeding, and as the Executive Council took the same view that I did of the conduct of the judge, he was dismissed.

This, however, was not my only difficulty with the judges. The Instructions for the guidance of the Governor in dealing with Acts passed by the Legislative Council directed him to transmit each Act, as soon as it was passed, to the judges, who were supposed to go carefully over it for the purpose of ascertaining whether or no it was repugnant to any English enactment having reference to the Island. The judges were obliged, within a given time, to return the Act, and to certify their opinion upon it; if that opinion were to the effect that no legal objection existed, the Act became law, and was brought into operation. Now there happened to be a certain enactment imposing a tax upon dogs, to which the judges had made no objection when it was originally submitted to them; but which, when the question was brought before them in the shape of a suit against the tax collector, they declared was illegal. This, which brought into question the legality of all our local enactments, seemed to me such a very serious matter that I brought the conduct of the Chief Justice (I had previously dismissed the Puisne Judge, as before stated) under the notice of the Secretary of State, upon the ground that he had not performed the duty thrown upon him of deciding upon the legality of our local enactments. At the same time I tried to provide a legislative remedy for the evil which might arise, and

which had in fact already arisen, by passing a 'Doubts' Act' to the effect 'that after the passing of this Act, all ordinances or Acts of Council heretofore passed by the Governor in Council, which shall not have been certified against by the judges, shall be deemed to have been and to be valid and binding to all intents and purposes, any repugnancy or supposed repugnancy to the 9th Geo. IV. cap. 83, notwithstanding.' The 'Doubts' Bill,' which was carried through the Council after a good deal of debate, removed the legal difficulty; but I received, eventually, a reprimand from the Secretary of State for having, as he termed it, 'acted rashly and unadvisedly in the matter,' a sort of hint to me not for the future to meddle with judges except in case of absolute necessity. The following letters will give an account of some of the feelings and incidents arising out of these acts of authority:—

Extracts from Journal.

New Norfolk, January 1, 1848.

Dearest ——,—Many happy new years to you all, to begin with! I have had rather a dreary week to end the old year with, for this business with the judges has proved so difficult a one, that the Executive Council has sat upon it every day this last week, except Tuesday; and this has kept W—— entirely in town. He came back yesterday evening, having at length settled the business, as far as Judge M—— is concerned; for the Council have decided on removing him, and they have done it in such a form as to make his removal as much *their* deed as that of W——'s, so that he does not take all the responsibility upon himself. This decision involves sundry changes among our law officers: the Attorney-General becomes Puisne Judge; the Solicitor-General takes *his* place, and another lawyer becomes Solicitor-General. About ten o'clock last night, W—— received a note to say that it was absolutely necessary that these persons should be

sworn into their new offices to-day; and it is equally essential that these oaths should be administered in presence of the Governor and Council; so poor W——, who only arrived here about seven o'clock yesterday evening, had to set off again at eight this morning. However, this is a business which will not keep him long. Judge M—— says he shall go home directly to England to tell his tale, and he is sure W—— will be dismissed in consequence!

To Mrs. Denison.

Hobart Town, January 16, 1848.

My dearest Mother,—I have not written to you for some time—November 24th was the date of my last letter. I have been too busy to write many letters, having had a troublesome business to manage with both the judges. I have given S—— an account of the legal question, which he will explain to you. With one of them, however, though implicated in the same question as the other, the cause of dismissal was his own personal misconduct.

January 23.—This letter has lain by for a week, and had not Sunday come, it must have lain by longer, for my whole time is now taken up with the matter relating to the judges, and with preparations for the meeting of the Legislative Council. I do not think that any Governor can ever have been placed in more awkward circumstances than I have been, with reference to mere internal difficulties of administration. The Colonial Office directed me to select out of twelve men, those whom I thought best qualified to sit in the Legislative Council. I did so, and the judges then discovered that I had no right to make such a selection, no one but the Queen having such a power. I was, in consequence, obliged to adjourn the Council until I received the necessary authority from the Queen. Well,—I went on very well for some time, but

then the judges discovered that one of the Acts which had been passed by the Legislative Council before I arrived, was, in some minor particular, repugnant to the statute of the English Parliament, which gave the Legislative Council power to make laws for the government of the colony. They seized upon this, and decided the Act of Council to be void; the consequence of which, in the first place, was to injure the revenue to the amount of 3,000*l.* per annum; and, in the second, to cast a doubt upon the validity of all Acts passed by the Council. From this, of course, it followed that all persons who were aggrieved by the operation of such laws, began instantly to question their legality; a large part of our revenue has been paid under protest, and there are now actions pending against the officers of the Government upon not less than six different Acts of Council. I took the matter up strongly, and would at first have suspended the judges, and appointed others in their places; but having got rid of one, as before stated, the matter was not so pressing against the other, though he was called upon to defend himself against a charge of neglect of duty, and recommended to take eighteen months' leave of absence. In the mean time the despatch came, nominating members of the Legislative Council, and I jumped at the opportunity of bringing matters to a healthy state, through the means of a legislative enactment. Just, however, as I was rejoicing that my difficulties were over, in steps the Chief Justice, and throws a doubt upon my power, under an Act of Parliament, to remove a judge. In the mean time, this, as you may imagine, has caused no slight commotion; the newspapers are doing their best to stir up every bad feeling; but I trust on Wednesday, when the Council meets, to be able to make so clear a statement as to vindicate the course I have pursued in the eyes of every right-thinking person. I may then hope to have means of making known the intentions of Government in

a legitimate manner, and so, by degrees, getting credit at all events for good intentions.

Your affectionate Son,

W. D.

Extracts from Journal.

Hobart Town, January 11, 1848.

We drove on Saturday afternoon to the Orphan School, to enquire after and see the native children, who, as I told you, were to be placed there soon after their Christmas visit to us at New Norfolk. I went first to the girls' side of the building; and the four black girls very soon came out to us, grinning, showing their white teeth, and looking very much pleased to see us again. After we had talked a little while, they, at the desire of the matron, began to show me one of their native dances, which I had not seen before, and which seemed to consist in very little more than stooping down, and striking with one hand on the ground, and then springing instantly up as high as they could leap, singing all the while, in a monotonous tone, words, of which, in answer to my enquiries, they told me that they themselves did not know the meaning; in fact, they really have very little approaching to a language of their own. These natives that are now living together, were all, to begin with, of different tribes; and it is a curious thing that each tribe had a language, which did not seem to have even a single root in common with that of the other tribes. The consequence was, that when these poor creatures were all brought together under the dominion of the English, they could not understand each other; so that they very soon adopted the English language to a great extent, as their medium of communication even amongst themselves; and the younger part of their community, I imagine, understand little or nothing but English. Thus these girls merely sang this song because they had heard and caught

it from the older natives, but they had not an idea what it meant. Two of them afterwards sang for me the English morning hymn, 'Awake, my soul, &c.' which they had learned during their residence on Flinders Island; and they sang it very well, with a promise, I thought, of having eventually rather good voices. They are treated, apparently, with great indulgence, not bound down strictly to the ordinary rules of the school, but at present allowed to follow their own devices to a greater extent than any of the other children; because, of course, it is only by gentle degrees that one can expect to bring them into regular and civilised habits. I did not see the boys till just before I left the school, because, as it was a half-holiday, the whole establishment of boys, black and white, had been taken down to the river-side to bathe, whither, I believe, the black girls would fain have followed them; for they can all swim like fishes, and when they heard that the boys were going, they said they wanted to go down to the water, and get some oysters!

January 25.—It will be a year to-morrow since we landed here, and, as a matter of course, therefore, I feel very much inclined to sit down and ask myself, what we have done during that year, and how we have got on with the new duties on which we then entered. I think, on the whole, the retrospect is rather a comfortable one; for though I, at least, feel that I have fallen short in many respects of the good I might have done, I am sure we have both been *trying*, and while doing that, one is never left without help. W—— thinks that, in spite of all the worries and cares of Government, he is a happier man than ever, and this, I think, must proceed, in part at least, from the consciousness of increased usefulness.

January 31.—Judge M—— was very near not being able to go home after all, for the day before the ship was to sail his butcher seized upon him for the payment of a debt! The judge's brother came here with the modest

request that the Executive Council would pay the debt, so as to allow him to go. This, of course, was declined, as Government money could not be applied to paying a man's private debts; but W—— gave him 20*l.* out of his own pocket for the purpose, and some other gentlemen subscribed likewise; and so the debt was paid, and the judge is gone!

On Saturday morning we had a visit from a party of natives, six men, who have come up here with their boat, and a very respectable-looking crew they make. One of them is called King Alexander, and he evidently considers himself rather a great man, having been, I believe, a chief of a tribe, so he does not belong to the regular boat's crew, but seems to have joined it on this expedition as a sort of favour. We led them into the housekeeper's room, and made the children hand them some fruit and cakes, to which they took cordially. As far as I have yet seen, the men are not nearly as lively as the women, and this, to my mind, gives them an appearance of less intelligence, as their silence and gravity wear rather an aspect of apathy and stupidity, than of attempted dignity. The only thing that moved these men to laughter, was our showing them some daguerreotype likenesses of those of their countrymen who were up here at Christmas. None of those who came yesterday were the same, but they recognised the individual likenesses very cleverly, and were much amused with them. I think the superior gaiety of the female sex amongst them is just as evident among the children, as among the grown-up people. On Friday afternoon I drove over to the Orphan School to see them, and took with me some balls which I had promised to bring them to play with, and some Jews' harps, for which they had expressed a great wish. The delight of the black girls at the gifts was very great: when I arrived they were in the school, the half-caste girl, Hannah, knitting a stocking, with which she seemed to be getting on

very tidily; the others not doing much, evidently, but listening to some Scripture questions which were being asked of the white girls, and thus, I suppose, being trained by degrees to sit still and answer in their turn. I took the precaution of calling them out of the school before I displayed my presents, thinking that their reception of them would probably not help their white companions through their Scripture questions; and it was well I did so, for they all began twanging with the Jews' harps instantly, and one of them dancing to her own and her companions' music. I had brought with me some picture books to give to the sick children of the establishment, for there are sick wards attached to the school, in which there are generally several children, and I thought these poor little creatures, especially those confined to bed, would be glad of some amusement; but unluckily my black friends spied these gay-looking books as I opened the parcel, and seized upon them, and for a moment I was afraid I should have some difficulty in getting them back again; but I was much pleased with the ready way in which they resigned them, the moment they were told that these were not for them, but for the sick; and they were quite satisfied with the *consolation*, such as it was, that I gave them: viz. that the pictures would be kept in the sick wards, and when they were sick, they would have them too.

February 9.—I must tell you, that the 'Act for removing Doubts, &c.,' has passed triumphantly: that is to say, without the necessity of W——'s giving his casting vote at all, which is a great thing, as his carrying a measure by his own vote in this manner must always give an appearance of his forcing it through by his own power against the general will, which one is glad to avoid, especially in the present excited state of our little world here. The press, and all the mercantile people interested in avoiding the payment of the disputed duties, are and will be very angry; somebody or bodies (I do not know

who) threatened to 'tar and feather' Mr. K—— for supporting the bill; but the old man, with more courage than I expected, stuck to his determination, and supported it to the last. Another of our 'honourable members' (Mr. G——) spoke strongly *against* the bill, and voted *for* it, on the second reading; and on the third, spoke *for*, and voted *against* it!!!

February 12.—The weather which, rather more than a week ago, was so cold that we had fires all day long, is now so hot again that it is impossible to go out of doors till the evening. Such is this climate, in which, it always strikes me, the seasons are all too like each other to have the delightful variety they have in England. Here, for instance, the winter is so mild, and much of the summer so cold, that the two seasons are really not so very unlike each other: you never can entirely lay aside fires and winter clothing for many days together, and yet, on the other hand, you never need to have that clothing so warm as in England, and occasionally, as at present, you have some days of great heat.

I am just engaged in a new piece of work, which promises to be a very interesting one; viz., an attempt to establish a house of refuge here, for the many unfortunate women who have now no asylum or means of maintenance, and whose numbers, I am told, are continually increasing. I was first induced to make this attempt by Mrs. Nixon, who told me how much such an asylum was wanted here; and on consulting W——, he confirmed this opinion of its necessity, and sanctioned my making the attempt. I am very doubtful of success, however: all I have yet done has been to call to my assistance the person who, I was told, was of all others the most competent to assist in a work of the kind. This is a linendraper in the town; the very personification of a mild, benevolent, and excellent Quaker. Even here, where sectarian and religious party feeling run higher than anywhere I have ever

known, men of all denominations unite in speaking well of *George Washington Walker*: he is never mentioned but with respect, even by those who, I fear, are too indifferent on the subject of religion to belong to any party at all; and whatever good is to be done, he is sure to have a hand in it. He, then, seems likely to be a principal agent in the business; and I had a long talk with him about it yesterday. He at one time raised a society here for the purpose; and, as long as he was able, supported its object at his own expense, after everyone else's zeal in the cause had flagged: and therefore it was that he was the best person to consult about its revival; and he has promised to speak to those who were engaged in that society before, and endeavour to induce them to come forward in its support again.

March 16.—I had to patronise a bazaar, and had been told beforehand that the chief promoters of it were particularly anxious that I should *sit down* there; because, they said, I had never done so at any former bazaar; and this, I suppose, would argue that I particularly distinguished theirs. Such, at least, was the tale told me, though I am rather inclined to think they had provided the chairs from a better motive, of consideration for my possible fatigue. However, I accomplished their wishes to the very letter, for not being very well to begin with, I felt positively sick and uncomfortable when I got there, and was only too thankful to sit down, and ask Mrs. Stanley to look round, and buy for me whatever she thought would be proper.

We had a visit yesterday from a party of natives, two men and two women. They had never been in this room before; and, to the credit of their taste, the first thing that attracted them was dear mamma's picture. 'Nice!' said one of the women, 'good face!' Afterwards they laughed violently at my little silver *owl*; and, finally, were much pleased with the daguerreotype likeness of W——,

which I showed them, and which they seemed to recognise instantly.

March 20.—The great event of this day to us has been, that the Legislative Council has thrown out W——'s Education Bill. I forget whether I ever gave you an account of his plan, but in case I should not, I may as well tell you shortly, that the principal features of it were that a general tax should be raised throughout the island—or school rate—of five shillings a year for each person; that the island, or at least the settled parts of it, should be divided into school districts, and that the payers of the rate in each district should elect a committee to manage the affairs of the school; of which committee the clergy were to be *ex officio* members. This committee was to regulate the instruction in each school, with the proviso, that no individual child was to be forced to learn anything of which his or her parents disapproved; as, for example, if, as would be the case in most districts, the majority of the committee were Church of England people, and the school, therefore, would be a Church of England school, the child of any Presbyterian or Roman Catholic living in the district should not be obliged to learn our Catechism, if its parents objected to it. By this means W—— hoped, at all events, to prevent our Church being overridden, as it has hitherto been, by the Presbyterians, &c. who, though a less numerous, are a more active body than we are, and therefore have had it all their own way in the Government schools, and have not allowed our Catechism, or anything of what they called sectarian instruction, to be taught. W——'s plan, on the contrary, was, that the majority should rule,—should have the Catechism, &c. taught, if they liked it; only providing that they should not force it upon the minority. Another advantage he hoped to attain by it was that, by making the people themselves pay for the schools, they might be more anxious to send their children there, on the principle

of getting their pennyworth for their penny; whereas, at present, there are some six thousand children in the island receiving no education at all. Altogether, considering the state of things here, it seems, perhaps, as fair a scheme as could well be devised; but I always thought it would meet with a great deal of opposition. I was afraid that our own clergy would not like it, because of the laity and dissenting clergy being joined with them in the management of the schools; that the Presbyterians and dissenters would not like it, because it would virtually throw more power into the hands of our own Church, and prevent their having their own way so completely as they have had hitherto; and that the mass of the people would not like it, because they would have to pay for it.

March 22.—The Council seem to be launching into a vigorous opposition: now they have thrown out W——'s estimates for the next year. I believe this was the same thing which they did to Sir Eardley Wilmot, and which led to his quarrel with them, and to the resignation of the six members. W——, however, instead of making it a quarrel, has quietly proceeded as the Home Government directs in such a case; that is, he has desired them to furnish estimates of their own, since they object to his, and both his and theirs are then to be forwarded to the Secretary of State, to see which he approves; W——, in the meantime, managing the finances as he thinks best.

To Mrs. Denison.

D'Entrecasteaux's Channel, April 7, 1848.

My dearest Mother,—Take your map of Van Diemen's Land, and look down the channel between Bruni Island and the main land, and you will see marked all the places about which we are now amusing ourselves. I felt that I wanted some relaxation, and accordingly decided to take the steamer and make a party to go down to visit some

convict stations, and at the same time to have some shooting. The weather has proved beautiful; just like the Indian summer in North America; cool enough to make exercise pleasant, yet with a fine bright sun, and not much wind. We started on Thursday morning, and stopped at Green Island, just inside the channel, landed there, and in about an hour and a half killed six or seven brace of quail. We then steamed away for the entrance of the Huon, and visited Port Cygnet, where there is a station for invalid convicts; went over this, and listened to some complaints and petitions for indulgences; then paddled back, and came to an anchor off Huon Island; the sea quite a blaze of light, and when we let down a fishing line, we could see it marked as a line of light nearly to the bottom, and could make out the fish swimming near the surface by the track of light they left, or rather, which they took with them, their bodies shining like phosphorus. The scenery here is beautiful; the hill called Adamson's Peak is a curious conical mountain full 5,000 feet high, and with the island in the foreground, and bold broken cliffs to the right and left, it forms a beautiful picture. We did not stay at this place, but steamed on to Muscle Bay or Southport, where there is a convict station of the worst class of offenders, who are employed in cutting timber; this we propose to visit, and then to return back to Port Esperance, to shoot quail in the afternoon on the island.

April 9.—We ran down to the Southport Lagoon, and found it covered with ducks of various kinds, and at least fifty or sixty black swans, but these kept carefully out of shot of the shore; at last I decided to post some of the party under cover on the shore, while I paddled out in a small punt to try to get a shot at the flock in the middle of the lagoon, or, if I did not get a shot myself, to give the men in ambush a chance. After I got some way from the shore, I found myself fast on a mud bank, and

had to get out, leaving my clothes and gun in the punt, and push it before me towards the flock of ducks, &c. All this was in vain; they naturally took the alarm at the strange object coming towards them, and off they went. Stanley, however, who was ensconced under a sandbank, got a couple of shots at black swans, and killed them both. After this we went off to Recherche Bay, and looked at the seams of coal, which were too thin to be worth working, though it might be as well hereafter to examine the ground in the neighbourhood.

I have just come off from the convict station, where I have been inspecting 130 of the greatest scoundrels in the world; young villains from sixteen to twenty-five years of age, and of most incorrigible habits; they are sent down here to be as far as possible from the settled parts of the island. Eighty of these are in separate cells, but they are most difficult to manage; and I was obliged to hold out threats of enforcing the most severe system of separate confinement; and, in three or four instances, to carry out my threats.

The sites of all the stations I visited in this channel are so very picturesque that one regrets to see them occupied as they are. This one is at the bottom of a little bay, open towards the south-east to the sea; with a beautiful white, sandy beach; fish plentiful; oysters innumerable and very good.

April 12.—The weather within the last two days has become cold and rainy, and as we have completed our inspection of all the stations, we have decided on returning home at once; and hope to reach Hobart Town in the course of the evening. God bless you, dearest mother. The good accounts you give of all are very refreshing at this distance.

Your affectionate Son,

W. D.

To Mrs. Denison.

Hamilton, May 11, 1848.

My dearest Mother,—My last letter was written while I was making a trip by water down D'Entrecasteaux's Channel; this is the product of a journey by land. Since my return from my voyage, matters have been going on quietly; the papers have been less abusive, and having time at my disposal, I took advantage of the general lull to ride up the valley of the Derwent to this place, a distance of about forty or fifty miles. Hamilton is a long straggling village containing about 200 inhabitants; small though it is, it is the head-quarters of the police of the district, and possesses a church and a clergyman. I saw in the course of my journey estates enjoying the same advantages of soil, water, &c., yet contrasting with each other in such a marked manner, as regards cultivation, management, &c. that I could not help making some enquiries as to the cause of this difference. I was told that the well-cultivated estate was the property of a merchant, who had brought the business habits of his profession to the management of his property, and had expended money upon it, but in every case with a well-defined object before him. The estate which was in bad order was the property of a settler who, coming from England with the conviction that the possession of a landed estate conferred position and importance upon the owner, had suffered this feeling to override his prudence; had purchased a large tract of land with borrowed money, and was paying the penalty of his folly in the shape of heavy interest, which eat up all the profits, and more than the profits, of his farming. This latter, you will say, is by no means an uncommon circumstance in other places than Van Diemen's Land. True, but in this colony it would seem to be the rule instead of the exception; and the

result is that many proprietors of large tracts of country lead a shiftless life, grumbling at the Government, and calling upon it to perform impossibilities to help them, when they will not put their shoulders to the wheel to help themselves. Their lot is cast in a country where nothing is required but steady, persevering industry, coupled with a slight knowledge of arithmetic, to enable them to secure competence, and perhaps wealth, for themselves and their children; but the absence of that little bit of arithmetic has made the prospect a delusion.

An officer of the Commissariat, to whom, in accordance with the practice in the early years of the colony, a lot of 600 acres of land had been *given*, actually asked me to take steps to keep the price of wheat up to eight shillings per bushel, 'because,' said he, 'I cannot grow wheat in my ground for less than that price.'

H—— will have told you of the failure of my attempt to induce the Council to pass my Education Bill. I confess I had hardly a right to anticipate success; but every day forces upon me more strongly the conviction of the necessity of the establishment of some system which shall ensure to the rising generation a certain amount of education. The children of the small settlers, who are scattered about in the bush, are growing up without any training, either moral or intellectual; they are ignorant, of course, but as their immediate companions are not better trained than themselves, they get to doubt the existence of knowledge in others, are self-willed, presumptuous, and unwilling to submit to any control; yet to the intellect and abilities of these must the future of the colony be intrusted to a certain extent, as they will compose the electoral body, if not the legislature of the colony.

I look, I confess, with great dread to the state of things which twenty years will produce; not that I shall see it, but as being answerable, in some measure, for the institutions under which these people will be trained, I am very

anxious that no effort of mine should be wanting whereby the foundation of a better state of things might be laid.

To Mrs. Denison.

Mona Vale, Van Diemen's Land, July 18, 1848.

My dearest Mother,—You will stare at my whereabouts, but the fact is, that C—— and I have been on a tour for a week or so, and are now staying with Mr. Kermode. I will give you an account of our journey. If you take your map, you will see, on the high road from Hobart Town to Launceston, a place called Campbell Town. We made our way there on Wednesday last, and on Thursday, having sent our portmanteaus on in a spring cart with a servant, started ourselves on horseback to ride to Avoca, to the east of Campbell Town, where there is a bridge across the St. Paul's river. I expected to find the road very bad, but it was better than I could have hoped, and we got to Avoca in about three hours. We there found a Mr. Grant waiting for us in a carriage, and we gave ourselves up to his guidance, as we were going to stay in his house, about twelve miles up the valley of the South Esk river. We found a capital road, and got to his house in about an hour and a half. Mr. Grant has an estate of about 12,000 acres in this neighbourhood. It is a beautiful valley, with rich bottom land, making capital meadows; and the hills which bound it afford admirable pasturage for sheep. On the next morning we started to go up the valley about six miles to the house of a settler of the name of Von Steiglitz; and having reached our destination, were, after a short delay, mounted on horseback, and taken off to visit a coal mine, or rather a seam of coal which makes its appearance on the hill side in Mr. Steiglitz's property. We reached this at length, after clambering up a steep hill, and found a most magnificent seam of coal, nine feet thick, and of very good quality. It was situated

in a ravine, where the water had washed the soil from the surface, and laid the edge of the bed bare. After various speculations as to the mode in which the coal could be got to market, we decided to go on the next day to a place on the coast called Falmouth, to see if means could not be devised for getting the coal to the coast, and for protecting the shipping which would be required to remove it. Accordingly, we started after breakfast to drive to the top of the Pass, a distance of about seven miles, and from thence we rode down a narrow road, cut in the face of the hill, following all the windings of the ground, and falling about a thousand feet in three or four miles. When we got to the coast, we found only two settlers in the township, which reminded me of the thriving city of Eden in 'Martin Chuzzlewit.' It is true there was a capital beach of beautiful white sand, but an open bay, with rugged points of granite projecting here and there, without any shelter from the sea. A sort of proposal was made to throw a jetty across to an isolated rock at some distance from the shore; but this would have cost a great deal, and given very little shelter; so we were obliged to look further off, and there we found an island, at some distance from the shore, under the shelter of which vessels could anchor pretty safely in all weathers. The valley leading from the head of the pass was full of fern trees of great height, and when the other trees are in flower, must look beautiful. On Sunday morning we went to church at the convict station at Fingal, and then made our way to Mr. Grant's again, from whence we came on Monday to this place.

Matters are going on quietly enough at present. I think I am working my way gradually. People are beginning to see that the measures which I have proposed are intended for the good of the community generally, and could I get rid of one or two of the noisiest demagogues in the Council, I should, I think, be able to manage well

enough. I am working hard to carry out and improve the roads and other public works of the colony, and to open its resources as much as possible.

To Mrs. Denison.

Hobart Town, August 26, 1848.

My dearest Mother,—My last letter was, I think, written while I was on a trip to the eastern part of the colony. I came back, and have been very busy preparing for the meeting of the Legislative Council, which was to have taken place on the 15th of the month, but which is still postponed; for after I had sent out all the notices, and asked, as is the custom, all the members of the Legislative and Executive Councils to dinner, one of them sent in his resignation. I was by no means sorry to get rid of him, for he has been at the bottom of all the opposition I have met with since I have been here. However, he has resigned, and I wrote a very civil letter to him, notifying my acceptance of his resignation. I was then about to call the members together, when another man sent in his resignation, and after him, a third. I am so far lucky, that all the three who have resigned have done so, not upon any political or party grounds, so that they carry the sympathies of no party with them. One of them was so full of professions of his anxiety to support me,—so full of promises to vote for the Government upon particular measures which, when brought forward, he always opposed, that it is really a blessing in every way to be quit of him. He did me more harm by his promises than he could have done by his steady opposition. One of those who remain came to me a day or two ago, and told me that he thought those who had resigned were altogether wrong in so doing, particularly at such a time. This very man had, a few days before, expostulated with the first who resigned for not letting him

know, 'when,' as he said, 'we could all have resigned in a body,' and thus made it impossible for me to have filled up their places. I hope to be able to set to work with the Council early next month, and, as I shall have everything ready for them, I shall be able, I trust, to get over the business speedily.

Your affectionate Son,
W. D.

Extracts from Journal.

Hobart Town, September 28, 1848.

Dearest M—— It is four or five days since I despatched my last letter; days, however, which have not had much to mark them. W—— has been working on with his Council, getting through business quietly and tolerably fast, and I have done nothing very particular, except calling together the (fortunately not many) ladies who have been chosen to act as visitors to our new 'Van Diemen's Land Asylum,' or House of Refuge, and setting them going. To-day, I believe, the estimates are to come under discussion in the Council; and I am very curious to hear how this will go off. Last session, you know, they threw out W——'s estimates without even choosing to bring them under discussion at all. I do not think they will do that this time, but I dare say there will be a good deal of opposition in the Council, and no end of abuse in the newspapers, before they are passed. I am thinking a great deal at present about the arrival of the 'Calcutta,' the first of our regular trading ships, which comes here every spring. It is within the bounds of possibility that she might be here any day, and much as I long for English letters and news, I look forward to her arrival with a sort of quaking feeling of terror, that makes me dread, almost as much as I wish, for her. The reason is, that I think she may bring answers to the despatches touching Judge M——; and, alas! that business involved

such a series of difficulties and awkwardnesses, that I am afraid I shall have reason for a renewal of alarms with the arrival of every ship for some time to come, till we have heard the decision of the home government, not only on the Judge M—— case, but on the subsequent *démêlé* with the Chief Justice ; and last, not least, on the 'Doubts' Bill.' I say nothing to W—— about my alarms, because he seems very calm and easy on the subject, and it would be a sin to be fussing him about it before the time, but, like the parrot, 'I think the more.' However, come what will, there is abundance of comfort for us, first, in the knowledge that W—— has conscientiously done his best here, and therefore, that we have nothing to regret in looking back to the past; and secondly, and greatest, in the conviction that, while he is what he is, nothing will ever happen to him that will not be for his good in the end.

September 30.—We had a visit yesterday from Mrs. Nixon, who gave us an account of the Archdeacon's wedding last Tuesday, at which she was present. The wedding went off very well; but the happy pair stuck in the mud on their way to their destination; for the Archdeacon had exchanged duties with another clergyman in one of the country districts, some miles beyond the limit of good roads, in order to have a quiet place in which to spend his honeymoon. He got out of the carriage when the catastrophe took place, and straightway plunged into a mud-hole, in which he sank up to his knees. The bride remained in the carriage, and was finally dragged out of the slough by bullocks!

October 4.—Mr. —— has announced in the Council his intention of moving that they should postpone all discussion of the estimates till an answer can be received from the Secretary of State respecting those of the present year. W—— had a private talk with him afterwards, and represented to him that this would be a most

unwise measure, as its effect would be that he (W——), who would then be left with the sole responsibility of disposing of the public money, would only expend such sums as had already been authorised by the Home Government, for salaries, and would feel obliged to discontinue all the public works, &c. which are now, under his administration, prospering so well, and tending to so much good. 'Oh,' said Mr. —— 'you might take upon yourself the responsibility of continuing these!' A pretty cool proposal, I think, that he should take upon himself alone, the responsibility which they utterly refuse to share with him. The truth is, as Mr. —— openly avowed, that he did not like to support the estimates, because he knew that the people here would, in that case, draw unfavourable contrasts between the conduct of the new members and that of the old ones; in other words, that his popularity would be diminished by it. The case, therefore, amounts to this: these councillors would like to have the public works continued, because they feel the benefit of it, but they do not like to risk any portion of their popularity by sanctioning the present outlay of money; and therefore, though they wish the thing to be done, they would rather that W—— should take upon himself alone all the responsibility and all the odium of doing it.

October 14.—I am in great hopes that to-day will finish the session of Council: they have been employed the last few days in discussing the estimates, and yesterday W—— came home saying that they had got on so far that he hoped to make an end of the whole business to day. It has proceeded satisfactorily too: there has been some opposition, but W—— has had a steady majority with him. It is strange, however, to see the inconsistency of these non-official members: they have been, all day, decrying W——'s estimates as extravagant in point of salaries and pensions; and now they have themselves voted additions

to some of those which W—— had cut down. They were rather astonished, and, I believe, looked a little foolish the other day, when, with reference to some of these salaries, which they proposed to increase, W—— pointed out to them what they had totally forgotten, viz., that these same salaries had only been cut down in compliance with their own express recommendation last year!

October 27.—Since I finished my last letter on Tuesday, I have been too busy to write. We spent the greater part of Wednesday at the Orphan School at Newtown; for W—— had a report to send home on the state of the school, and he wished to examine the children himself first, instead of trusting solely to the report of the Inspector of Schools; and I went with him. The examination was tolerably satisfactory as regarded the girls, but not so as to the poor boys, who rather gave us the idea of being depressed into stupidity by cold and harsh treatment, and the want of any pains being taken about their amusement and happiness. I have always felt sorry for the children in that school, for I do not think it is possible they can be very happy there: many of them, most, indeed, are the children of convicts, who, on their arrival here, have been forthwith separated from their parents, and consigned to the school, while their parents are undergoing their primary period of punishment. This, of itself, must be an affliction to the poor little creatures; and then, though they are well taken care of in the school, well fed and clothed, provided with good medical attendance if ill, &c. I do not think there is much care taken to make them happy. This is partly, perhaps, unavoidable; for, in such a large school, it is almost inevitable that they should come to be treated too much as a mass, not as individuals; and I suppose it is too much to expect that the necessary discipline should always be judiciously or tenderly enforced; at least, I imagine that such is not the case; for the children, even the very little ones, almost infants, and both the sick and the healthy, are

all so unnaturally quiet and orderly, that it is painful to see them; it gives one the idea that they are afraid to be otherwise. Till we came, too, nothing seemed to have been done towards giving them any species of amusement, and this, I think, helped to make them dull and apathetic. W—— has done something to enliven them by causing the boys' school to be provided with bats, balls, &c. and on Wednesday he announced to the children that he should come there for a quarterly examination regularly, and should afterwards give prizes, both for general good conduct, and for reading, needlework, &c. This will be a great source of pleasure to them, I think; and I shall take great pains in selecting the prizes, to get such things as will really be rewards to them.

November 10.—Well, dearest M——, the long-expected Judge storm has burst at last, and is pretty well over! And I really think I was hardly conscious before how much the anticipation of it was weighing upon me: at least, I have only fully realised it now by the intense relief I have experienced since hearing the despatch on the subject. It is almost as if a mountain had been moved off me. The July mail *viâ* Sydney seems to have trodden very closely on the heels of the June one: we did not expect it so soon, and had consequently looked with utter indifference on the signals displayed on the flagstaff yesterday morning, of the appearance of two small vessels. Great, therefore, was our surprise, on returning from our walk in the afternoon, to find displayed on the table an awful-looking bag of despatches, which, on being opened, presently disclosed a lengthy despatch, marked 'Confidential,' and beginning with an announcement of having received the despatches on the subject of Sir J. Pedder, &c.

You may picture to yourself the scene in our drawing room as follows: W—— and C—— sitting side by side on the sofa, devouring the despatch with their eyes, and W—— reading it aloud as fast as he could get the words

out of his mouth; I (quite past sitting still, from intense nervousness), pacing up and down just in front of them, listening to the despatch, and feeling as if it never would come to an end. It contained an awful 'rap over the knuckles' to W—— for his conduct with respect to Sir John Pedder, so awful, that I thought a sentence of recall was coming every moment; and when at length it mildly subsided into a soothing little salve, in the shape of a general expression of the confidence which the Government had, and should continue to have, in his zeal and ability, I almost felt as if I never should sit down composedly again. Certainly a rap of this sort is not a pleasant thing, and it so far disappoints me that sometimes, in the most sanguine moods of anticipation, I had flattered myself that the chief of the blame would fall on Sir John Pedder: still, it is such a relief to know the worst, and to feel that that worst falls so very far short of what, at times, I had feared (for the papers here have never ceased predicting our recall, and crowing over the anticipation of it), that I feel in higher spirits than I have done for some time past.

As the despatch above alluded to had reference to the conduct of Sir John Pedder, I thought it but right that he should know the opinion entertained by the Government at home of the mode in which I had dealt with him, and I accordingly forwarded the despatch to him with the following letter.

Government House, November 13, 1848.

Dear Sir John Pedder,—I have just received the enclosed despatch, marked, as you see, 'Confidential;' I do not, however, think that Lord Grey would object to the course that I am taking in showing it to you, and I feel that it is due to you, as Sir John Pedder and as Chief

Justice, that you should be made acquainted with the opinion expressed by Lord Grey in a matter in which you are so much interested. The despatch, it is true, has reference generally to my conduct, not to yours; but Lord Grey has, in one part, expressed a feeling of confidence in your discretion, and readiness to forget your personal feelings where the public service is concerned, and it will be a most gratifying portion of my duty, in acknowledging the receipt of this despatch, to inform his Lordship that in this feeling of confidence he has not been mistaken.

I send this note and the despatch by my Private Secretary, as you may imagine I do not wish it to be made public.

Believe me, yours very truly,

W. DENISON.

CHAPTER IV.

NEW YEAR—CHRISTMAS TREE—VISIT TO OYSTER COVE—NATIVE METHOD OF CLIMBING TREES—TRIP TO MARIA ISLAND—TRIGONOMETRICAL SURVEY—TRADE OF HOBART TOWN — COAL — VISIT FROM THE GOVERNOR OF NEW SOUTH WALES — EXCURSION TO SLOPEN ISLAND—ENORMOUS TIMBER—EXPERIMENT WITH SNAKES — IMPROVEMENTS AT ORPHAN SCHOOLS—EDUCATION — DEATH OF CAPTAIN STANLEY — PUBLICATION OF A CONFIDENTIAL DESPATCH AND AWFUL CONSEQUENCES RESULTING THEREFROM—IRISH STATE PRISONERS—EFFECT OF GOLD DISCOVERIES IN CALIFORNIA—RELIGIOUS INFLUENCE OF THE WESLEYANS AMONG THE CONVICTS—NEED OF LAY AGENCY IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND — ATTEMPTED ESCAPE OF SMITH O'BRIEN.

Extracts from Journal.

Hobart Town, January 1, 1849.

DEAREST ——,—I cannot let the day pass without writing to you our good wishes for you all at the beginning of the new year, and telling you, what I am sure you will none of you have doubted, how we have thought of you all, and prayed for you! I certainly did not admire the Van Diemen's Land way of ushering in the new year; a sad falling off from the peaceful church bell-ringing of dear old England. At twelve o'clock, or rather a little before, all the bells and gongs from all the ships at the wharf and in the harbour began a chorus of ringing, banging, and clattering, accompanied by the firing of guns and beating of drums, and a great deal of shouting and hurraing which had rather a sound of clamorous and disorderly revelry about it, unsuited to a Sunday night, and singularly out of unison with one's feelings on the last night of the year. What a year has the last been! how crowded with events public and private! It will, I suppose, go down in history

as one of the most remarkable and eventful years of modern times; and in our private and family history, it has been deeply and sadly marked too. May God watch over us all for good in that which is now beginning!

January 5.—Four days' gap in my letter—days which have been principally occupied in what seemed the endless preparation for our Christmas tree! You will not wonder at this press of business, when I tell you, that I expected altogether above a hundred children, and the providing presents for them all, which should be so nearly equal in value as to excite no jealousies, and at the same time so cheap as to be within our means, was no light labour. Then all these articles had to be ticketed, and divided into four classes, one for the bigger, and one for the lesser girls, and ditto ditto boys; as they were to be drawn for, as in a lottery, so that everyone should get something. We thought this was better than appropriating a gift to each child, as that would have been difficult to do without giving offence; and by dividing them into classes, we avoided the possibility of the boys drawing things suitable only for girls, or the older ones things only adapted to the younger. Captain Stanley undertook to find a suitable tree for the purpose; and this was not very easy, because, as Rosalie remarked, 'Il n'y a point ici de ces beaux sapins,' of which they make Christmas trees in Europe; and most of the native trees have only long bare stems, and leaves near the top. However, at last he found a nice young tree of the native cherry, which is more *branchy* than most of them.

The only advantage of having Christmas in the summer is, that you can help out your decorations with plenty of flowers and fruit. The younger children assembled at six o'clock, to the number of about fifty: we began operations with them by a great tea-drinking under the verandah, and then set them to a variety of games till about eight, when the older ones (those above ten years

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old) and their parents streamed in, and as soon as a good roomfull of them were collected, the band of the 99th Regiment struck up the tune of 'The Mistletoe Bough,' the curtain was drawn aside, and the Christmas tree was displayed in all its glory. The happy confusion that then took place defies description: we had done our possible to secure order by admitting only the little ones to the immediate vicinity of the tree first; girls at one side, boys at the other: and we settled that this small fry should draw their tickets, and take their prizes first, the older ones, meanwhile, waiting at the entrance, where they could have a full view of the tree. However, this was more easily arranged than executed; the little creatures did not clearly understand on which side they were to enter: so some of the girls drew boys' tickets, and *vice versâ*. Then several of the children lost their tickets, and could not remember what the number on them was: so that it was hard work. However, all was set tolerably right at last; and when they nearly all seemed to have got their prizes, we set the music going again, and them to work dancing. This, to my mind, was the prettiest part of the evening: several of the children danced very nicely, and of course seemed to enjoy it thoroughly. At supper, W—— spoke just a few words, drinking 'A Happy New Year' to all the party. Altogether it went off with brilliant success, and has, I really believe, given great pleasure.[1]

[1] Christmas trees and juvenile balls were an entire novelty in Van Diemen's Land at that time: this particular little *fête* was the first of the kind ever given there, and it created such a sensation, that I was amused to find it recorded among the remarkable events of the year, in a kind of little 'annual register,' published at the close of each year in one of the local almanacs.

To Mrs. Denison.

Van Diemen's Land, January 18, 1849.

My dearest Mother,—I give you a general address, because I am at this instant on board a steamer, moving about to visit the different convict establishments in Tasman's peninsula ; and the first part of this letter will be in the form of a journal, which I shall keep writing on while I move about. C—— and I embarked on Monday with the Comptroller-General and the Commanding Royal Engineer ; the weather beautiful. We steamed away to a place called Oyster Cove, a little within the entrance of D'Entrecasteaux's Channel, where all the unfortunate natives who were removed last year from Flinders Island are now congregated. They were all delighted to see me ; but complained a good deal of cold, which was surprising, as I found them, in the middle of summer, sitting over large fires ; the rooms very close, and themselves wrapped up in the thickest blanket wrappers you can imagine. I showed them a camera obscura, with which some appeared to be pleased, but not to the extent which I thought they would. We afterwards got two of the women to show us how they climbed a tree ; and nothing struck me more than the energy they developed in this, while their usual conduct was so apathetic. They provided themselves with a rope, long enough to go round the tree with several feet to spare, and with a sharp-edged stone. Then, having cut a notch in the tree with the stone, not so much as an inch deep, they pass the rope round the tree, and, swinging it up as high as they can, easily manage to raise themselves up to the notch. They then secure the rope by keeping one end in their left hand, and, passing the other between their knee and the tree, hold it between the great toe and his next neighbour. They then cut another notch as high as they can reach, and repeat the process. The woman went up a tree about

a hundred feet high, and I was frightened to see her venturing out on a rotten branch for the purpose of taking a parrot's nest, and made her come down. All the anticipations of evil to arise from the presence of the blacks have proved fallacious. I give them ample rations, and they are well content to stay at home and eat, instead of roaming in the bush at the risk of being starved or shot. From Oyster Cove we steamed across into Norfolk Bay, on the west side of which are four convict stations. Having visited these, we anchored on Wednesday under Woody Island, where we set to work fishing, and in a very short time caught five or six dozen with hooks and lines, besides several of a different description with nets. You will not care to know about the details of my visit to the convict stations, but you will be pleased to learn that there is a marked improvement in all the arrangements since my last visit. The men are under better discipline, and the amount of work which is now procured from them bears some proportion to their physical ability.

January 21.—We anchored on Friday afternoon off East Bay Neck, and on Saturday morning we carried our boat across upon a wooden tramway, and then pulled down to the entrance of the bay. Here we found a schooner, which had been sent to meet us, and carry us to Maria Island; but as the sea breeze was dead in our teeth, we decided to take one whaleboat and six men, and to pull up to the north end of the island, where the main convict station is situated, and where we arrived about nine o'clock in the evening, and got beds at the house of the visiting magistrate. To-day, being Sunday, we attended the convict chapel, where all the Protestant convicts were collected; and a more orderly congregation could not be seen. Some of the men, who had been taught, made a very good choir, chanted some of the service, and sang the Psalms very fairly. The clergyman preached a good sermon, well adapted to his congregation.

All the arrangements at this station are remarkably good: we went down to-night into the dormitory, where 120 men were asleep in separate berths: the whole lighted up from distance to distance by lamps, and a watchman patrolling up and down constantly. The ventilation was remarkably good; for although the night was very warm, I did not perceive any close or disagreeable smell. In the afternoon we went to look at the cliffs at the north end of the island, which are of limestone, composed of masses of shells of different forms and sizes; those in the lower layers being principally oysters, while, as you rise higher in the series of strata, the mixture of shells is more general as regards species, and very much smaller in size. I hope to be able to send home specimens of each stratum, so as to mark the specific differences of each period of deposition.

To Admiral Beaufort.

Hobart Town, Van Diemen's Land, February 5, 1840.

Dear Admiral Beaufort,—You must not think that I have forgotten my promise to do something towards providing a chart of the harbours of this colony, but the means at my disposal are too limited to allow me to do a great deal. I found the general survey of the country in a very unsatisfactory state, and have accordingly commenced a trigonometrical survey. This will be connected with the observatory here, the position of which I have no doubt has been well ascertained by the officers in charge; and as our facilities for the measurement of a base are great, as far as the face of the country itself is concerned, there being a sandy beach about seven miles in length upon which we can work at all times,—we may, I trust, be able to insure the accuracy of our main points within a very short distance.

I send you the sketch and triangulation of the entrance

of the Derwent, including D'Entrecasteaux's Channel, which I believe to be very fairly accurate, though it has been made some years: we shall verify it as soon as we get our instruments, but in the meantime, it will answer your purpose, I dare say; and, should you be able to send any vessel here to finish the soundings, I should feel that I have been of some service to this maritime community. There is a splendid harbour, well sheltered from every wind; plenty of water for any vessel, room enough for the whole British navy. Even alongside of our wharves, we have from twenty to twenty-five feet at low water, and seven or eight fathoms at 100 feet out, with good holding ground. However, no wind ever blows in the harbour to affect a vessel, or try the holding power of its anchors or cables. I have turned my engineering knowledge to some account, having extended the wharves, made a basin with from eight to twelve feet of water for the small river craft, and thus extended the accommodation of the port very much. The number of vessels trading to Hobart Town is daily increasing; we sent out last year thirty-seven whalers, and shall probably in another year or so fit out a hundred. Shipbuilding is going on, on a large scale; vessels of six hundred tons have been built, and a great number of from two to three hundred and upwards.

The timber (Blue gum) is to be got of any size: one builder laid down the other day a keel of 120 feet in length, and this was one out of four pieces of scantling of the same size, cut out of one tree. I should think that we might very well supply plank to any extent, if it would be worth the freight home: from all that I can learn, it is a most durable wood, and well worth the attention of ship-builders; its weight and hardness are the only objections to it.

I believe you have a chart of the entrance to Launceston, up the Tamar. The navigation is difficult, owing to

the narrowness of the river in places, and the rapidity of the tides; there is one spot called Whirlpool Reach, with a very bad rock nearly in the middle of the channel. I am going to try to blast this away. I have a diving-bell, and, as the rock is small, I may be able to manage this without much labour.

What is to be done with the Observatory here? I see by the Sydney papers that the one at Parramatta is to be given up. This I am sorry for; the presence of an astronomer in a colony is a guarantee that a certain amount of science is at the disposal of the Government, and if he be an active and intelligent man, he has it in his power to do a great deal of good, by imbuing others with a taste for scientific pursuits. The great evil of these colonies is the absence of scientific men. Many of the settlers have had some education, but there are but few or none in this colony who can fairly be called men of science, and the consequence is that the half-educated, with but a smattering of knowledge, are able to lead the more ignorant by the nose. I have set on foot a scientific society; that is, I have succeeded in making a society, which had been nominally established several years, perform some work, and I hope to be able to forward home a specimen of its labours shortly. I know no country which presents a fairer field for enterprise and industry than Van Diemen's Land. We are too full, however, of speculators, who cannot content themselves with the fair profits of capital; consequently, half the settlers are bankrupt, but there are great openings for the investment of capital in a variety of ways. People here are, however, for cutting away the convict system, to which only their prosperity is owing; and they have to a certain extent succeeded. They have given to themselves a name, at all events, which will stick to them for some time, though I believe undeservedly. Considering the elements of which society is composed, it is perfectly

marvellous how little crime manifests itself: our windows and doors are left without shutters or fastenings, and life and property are as secure or even more secure in Hobart Town, than in any town of equal population similarly situated in England. All this praise seems as if I wanted to tempt you or your friends to take a trip here, but this I could not recommend, however glad I should be to see you here. You may send me, however, a captain of a surveying vessel, and I will make him very welcome. There are two or three harbours on the east and west coasts, which deserve attention; so, if you send him, let it be with a roving commission, or let me be enabled to suggest to him the points to which his attention should be turned. Good-bye.

Believe me, &c. &c.

To Sir Henry De la Beche.

Hobart Town, March 1, 1849.

My dear De la Beche,—I have forwarded to the Colonial Office sundry boxes, containing specimens of coal found at different points of this island, together with a report drawn up by Dr. Milligan upon four of the coal-fields. Covered as the country is with timber and brush, it is of course impossible that the description can be very precise; the mode in which the coal was in many instances discovered, has been by finding specimens in the lower parts of the course of a rivulet, and by then tracing it upwards: in these instances the seam has been found cropping out in the bed of the stream, making in two cases a fall of from ten to twelve feet, the thickness of the seam.

You will, I have no doubt, read with pleasure the reports alluded to, as indicating that we have not lost all zeal for the furtherance of science; and my object in now writing to you is to ask your assistance. What I want

you to do for us, if you can manage it, is to furnish us with any specimens you may have to spare for our museum here; and also, if you could, with a geological cabinet illustrative of the different formations, which will serve as a standard of comparison in our researches into the geological structure of the country. Coal will, eventually, be one of our most valuable products; it appears to be plentiful, that is, it is found at many points on the east side of the island. Of the west side we know but little as yet.

Pray keep me *au courant* of what is going on in England; send me any information which can be turned to account here, and trust me that the seed shall produce some fruit, if possible. Good-bye.

Yours very truly,
W. D.

Extracts from Journal.

Hobart Town, March 20, 1849.

Dearest ——,—We have for some time past heard flying rumours that Sir Charles Fitz-Roy, the Governor of New South Wales, was about to take a cruise in the 'Havannah' to Port Phillip, and, on his return, to pay a visit to this place. We did not, however, pay much heed to this, till we saw in some papers that he had actually sailed, and, from what was said about the length, or rather shortness, of his proposed stay at Port Phillip, it seems possible that he might be here any day. Thus we are all in an agony of preparation: I am thinking how I can *stretch* the house, so as to take in Sir Charles, his aide-de-camp and secretary, and the Captain of the 'Havannah.' C—— is distressing himself over the drawing-room carpet, which certainly is dreadfully shabby; and though Government, happily, finds carpets for these public rooms, the distress is, that we cannot, anywhere in the town, procure a piece of carpet large enough to cover the room,

except one or two, which are so eminently ugly, that I do not at all like the idea of disfiguring the room with them for the remainder of our stay here.

March 29.—This morning, like a thunderclap, comes upon us a signal from the telegraph station, 'H.M.S. "Havannah," with H. E. Sir Charles Fitz-Roy on board!' And it was only the day before yesterday that we heard he was going to Adelaide first, and then here: so that it was a physical impossibility that he could arrive here before the end of next week, at soonest; and under this impression we hugged ourselves in security, and made little or no preparation: so now everything has to be done at once.

Monday, April 2.—I have not had much time for writing since Thursday; and yet I hardly know why, for I have had nothing very particular to do. All Thursday and a part of Friday morning, we remained in continued expectation of the 'Havannah' and Sir Charles Fitz-Roy, who we heard had put into Port Arthur, on account of the gale which had been blowing; but we supposed they would come on here as soon as possible. The rooms were all ready, dinner prepared for a good large influx of guests, and the same thing on Friday; but about the middle of that day we received a letter to say that Sir Charles hoped to be at Hobart Town the following day—Saturday. I thought this delay very disagreeable; but there was no help for it, so we sent out invitations to as many of the authorities as possible to come and dine here on Saturday to meet the great man. Having done this, it fell calm; and all Saturday, the 'Havannah,' which had left Port Arthur in the morning, was trying in vain to get here. The consequence was, that the town generally, and our own establishment in particular, spent the day in a state of wearisome expectation. Idlers lounged about, waiting for the spectacle of his expected landing *in state*; the guard of honour and the band remained, as it were, suspended between the barracks and the wharf: I grumbled and

growled, and made sure that he would not come in time for dinner, and there we were, with all these guests invited to meet him;—and then, after all, perhaps he would arrive on Sunday, just when we were going to church;—and much more to the same effect. W—— took it all philosophically, and went out in his barge to fish; thinking that there he should be, all ready, and would go on board if the ship made her appearance. Fortunately he had sent the little Government steamer down to Port Arthur, and she came back in company with the 'Havannah;' so, when it became evident that the ship was too hopelessly becalmed to have any chance of getting here that night, Sir Charles and his suite got into the steamer, and arrived here just in time to give us and our guests a considerable wait while they were dressing for dinner.

Extracts from Journal.

Hobart Town, April 10, 1849.

My dear ——,—Though I have not much time for writing to-day, I will at least begin a letter: yesterday was a busy day; we spent a considerable part of it in the Orphan School. I believe I told you how much our compassion had been excited for the poor children: how seriously W—— has taken into consideration the best means of improving their condition, and how, as a preliminary step, he promised the children to hold a half-yearly examination there, and give prizes to the deserving. Yesterday was the day fixed for the first examination. He and I were both anxious to mark the point which we considered of the highest importance, by giving one prize, of superior distinction and value to all the rest, and which was to be the reward, not of any superior ability or advancement in any branch of education, but solely of good conduct. After due deliberation with the school authorities, it was decided that this prize should be a silver medal; and we have accordingly had some

very neat medals made here, one of which was presented by W—— to the best-conducted boy in the school, the other by me to the best girl. There were other prizes given, in each class, for reading, writing, needlework, &c. Amongst others, one of the black girls gained two prizes; and her face was worth anything, as she stood rolling her eyes, and trying to look grave while W—— was speaking to her, and then expanding into the broadest grin of intense delight as she returned to her seat.

April 12.—Yesterday was a comparatively quiet day. W—— took Sir Charles Fitz-Roy to the races, and there they remained all the afternoon; after which we dined quietly at home with Sir Charles alone, his suite having gone to dine at the mess. Short, however, has been the lull; for to-day we are giving a ball. I have long been considering the expediency of this, as I felt sure the community at large would be almost looking for a ball on the occasion of Sir Charles Fitz-Roy's visit; and my own inclinations thereto have been stimulated by the appearance of a few nice-looking *little* midshipmen, belonging to the 'Havannah,' flitting about the town. I should not have been dear mammy's daughter if I had not had a strong desire to give something that would be agreeable to the middies; and what should that be but a dance? So it is to be to-night.

April 14.—Our ball last night went off with great spirit and success; everybody seemed pleased, and the midshipmen got on to admiration: it was quite amusing to see how they had contrived to make themselves acquainted with every lady in the room, insomuch that they altogether declined Captain Stanley's offer to introduce them to partners, saying they liked their old partners best!

To Mrs. Denison.

Slopen Island, April 18, 1849.

My dearest Mother,—You will stare when you see where I date from, but the fact is that I am taking a holiday. We have had Sir C. Fitzroy, the Governor of New South Wales, as a visitor for the last fortnight, and I went up the country with him, and showed him whatever was worth seeing. Sir Charles was, I believe, very much struck with the difference between this colony and New South Wales, as shown in the large amount of the outlay upon public works, in the greater expenditure by the settlers generally upon houses and farm establishments—all of which is the result of cheap convict labour. On Monday morning I took a large party down to Oyster Cove to see the remnant of the aborigines; and then we went a few miles further down the river to inspect a ship-building establishment belonging to an enterprising man of the name of Watson, who has established his yard in the immediate vicinity of the timber. He had promised to show us how he felled his timber, and accordingly he had two trees ready for us on our arrival. The trees are all of the gum tribe, but beautiful as far as regards their quality for all economical purposes; large, straight, without any lateral branches. These that he had prepared were by no means of unusual dimensions. The men stand on a stage about fourteen feet from the ground; they first cut with axes a notch nearly half through the tree, on the side on which they want it to fall, and then begin to saw it on the opposite side, driving in wedges in order to prevent the saw being nipped or fixed in the cut. They were sawing when we came up, and in about ten minutes we saw the tree begin to nod; the men had ample time to get off the stage before it fell, but at last down it came, making the earth shake; for you must recollect that it had to fall fourteen feet, and when I tell you the size and

weight of the tree, you will not be astonished that it did produce such an effect. The tree was cut, as I said, fourteen feet from the ground, because the roots splay out so as to make it much thicker, and more difficult to cut, near the ground. It measured 135 feet up to the first branch, from the point where it was cut: it was 14 feet round at that point: it was 8 feet round at the first branch, and could not have weighed less than 50 tons. We saw another cut which was 172 feet from the ground to the lowest branch; 7 feet in circumference at the lower branch, and 13 feet at 12 feet from the ground. Now these are the ordinary-sized trees of the forest where the soil is strong; and these I measured, or saw measured myself. The dimensions of the next I give upon the evidence of a clergyman who measured them. A standing tree measured 130 feet round at the ground, 102 feet at 4 feet from the ground: a felled tree measured 220 feet to the first branch, was 30 feet in circumference where cut, 12 feet in circumference at the lower branch, and had 64 feet of head above that branch. The trees that I saw measured were from 270 to 300 years old, judging from the annual rings, and the timber of the blue gum is as good as can be found in the world, I believe, when properly seasoned. Such timber as this is never seen in England, neither, indeed, do I know any place where the timber runs so long and so large. In America, it is but occasionally one meets with a gigantic pine; the other timber is all on an inferior scale, both as regards diameter and length. Sir Charles and Captain Erskine, of the 'Havannah,' were astonished at the size and character of the trees. After bringing them back to their ship, and dining on board, we bade them good bye, and they got under weigh, with a favourable wind, on their way back to Sydney; while we, on the Tuesday morning, stood across for this place, which we reached about breakfast-time. We landed with one pointer, and we had not been

ten minutes on shore before we got into the midst of a bevy of about thirty quail. We fired away most perseveringly, the birds getting up in every direction. We brought twenty-four and a half brace on board, having lost, owing to the thickness of the cover, at least four brace. This morning we killed seventeen and a half brace, and yet it appears to me that the numbers increase. Just fancy my horror yesterday at finding the pointer making a steady point at a snake! I fired at the brute, but I believe it had got under a log. Luckily, at this time of the year they can hardly be persuaded to bite. We had a curious instance of this a few days ago: a man, a convict, professes to be able to cure the bite of a snake, and has offered to communicate the secret if I will give him some indulgence, or recommend him for a conditional pardon. The first thing was to test his powers; and I trusted this to several medical men, who, having procured two poisonous snakes, called upon the man to prove his power by letting the snake bite a rabbit, which he would then cure, while he would allow another rabbit to die of the bite. Nothing, however, would induce the snakes to bite. They were pinched and bullied in every way, but altogether declined to use their fangs. We shall now have to wait till next summer, when the heat will restore their energies to the snakes, and if the man can prove his power of curing a bitten person, or, as he says, of inoculating a person, so as to enable him to disregard the bite, he will be well entitled to any reward I can give him.

April 19.—We have just come on board the steamer, having killed twenty-six and a half brace of quail, and are now under weigh, running down the west side of Tasman's Peninsula for Wedge Bay, where we propose to shoot to-morrow. This sort of holiday does me an infinity of good, and I am now able to afford it well, for I have hardly any despatches to write, having discussed all the main topics of political interest, and left myself but little

to do until the representative legislature meets. I had a good deal of conversation with Sir C. Fitzroy on the subject of these representative assemblies, and he seemed to think that it was much more satisfactory for a Governor to have an elected council than to be, as I am at present, the president or chairman of a body, nominated it is true in a great measure by me, but over whom I have no control. There are many inconveniences attached to my present position, not the least of which is to be obliged to act as president, and at the same time to be obliged to discuss measures proposed by the Government, to answer objections, to listen to all the nonsense which is talked merely for the purpose of being printed in the papers.

April 20.—Our sport at Wedge Bay was but indifferent as far as shooting was concerned, but I have had a good afternoon's fishing, having caught a great number and variety of fish, rock cod, perch, parrot fish, trumpeter, &c., all of which were of a fair size.

Your affectionate Son,
W. D.

Extracts from Journal.

Hobart Town, April 23, 1849.

W—— and I drove yesterday to the Orphan School; and I went with him into the boys' school, where I had not been for a long time; and I came back, I must say, quite delighted with the change and improvement which W—— has been the means of effecting there. Instead of the poor, spiritless, abject creatures you used to see there, boys who dared scarcely look you in the face, or answer when spoken to, and who, when turned out into their playground, seemed to have no idea of doing anything but sauntering about without any object at all, or rudely congregating to gaze upon their visitors with a sort of stupid, apathetic stare, I saw some playing at football, some swinging, several of the older ones climbing up a mast which W—— has had rigged up for them, like

the one at Greenwich School; and those who succeeded in getting to the top waving their caps and cheering, in a way that, a year ago, they never would have dared, or dreamed of doing. If you could only have seen the state of those poor little creatures at that school, boys and girls, when we first knew them, (well fed, indeed, and well clothed and orderly, but showing, in their whole behaviour, that they did not know what it was to be really cared for, or to have their happiness consulted, and evidently frightened and degraded into a state of either resigned misery, or utter apathy,) and see the difference now, since W—— has placed better people about them, and has himself let them see that he takes an interest in them, you would not wonder that the whole concern is an object of great interest to us both.

May 18, 1849.—We had a long walk yesterday, to look out a good site for the training school for schoolmasters, which W—— proposes to establish. It is to be on the land of what is called the Government farm, a farm which is worked by hired men, and the produce of which goes to supply the Orphan Schools, and some of the other government establishments. W——'s idea is, that a great part of the farm work shall eventually be done by the young men in the training school, and the boys in the Orphan School. These poor boys are now kept so many weary hours in school, that I really think what intellects they have, get perfectly addled; and W—— thinks it would be better for them, in every way, to spend a much shorter time in actual schooling, and to employ the rest of their working hours in practically learning something of garden and farm work, the care and management of cows, pigs, &c. &c. He has already had a large space in front of the school portioned out into gardens for some of the elder boys; these are to be given in the first instance, as rewards for good conduct; and then the produce of their gardens is to be either sold

or taken off their hands at the usual price, and they are to have the money for their own benefit, either as present pocket-money, or to be laid by towards an outfit when they leave school.

The character of the education to be given to the children of the Orphan School, numbering altogether five hundred, of all ages up to fourteen, had been for some time under consideration. I had frequent conversations with the Bishop, the Chaplain, and the officers of the school. The following letter will serve to explain some of the principles which I wished to see adopted:

To the Lord Bishop of Tasmania.

Hobart Town, May 21, 1849.

My Lord,—I return Mr. Ewing's letter. I cordially agree with much that he has said; I may say, indeed, with most of that which has reference to the future; as regards the past, there is little use in raking up its ashes. I most entirely concur with him in his views as to the necessity of combining religious with secular instruction; these two together constitute education, the system of training which enables the mind to assimilate and digest the facts which mere instruction hands over to the memory; but the question we still have to deal with is the best mode of carrying out this combination of the two elements. Our wish is to communicate to the children religious instruction in such a form as not to render it distasteful to them. Now we are far too apt to judge of the feelings and opinions of children by our own; we do not attempt to tax our memory to discover what we felt or thought when we were children ourselves; but having, through a long course of mental discipline and training, convinced ourselves that certain forms and observances are well calculated to foster and develope in ourselves

those feelings of rational piety and devotion to God's service which should characterise the Christian man, we conclude, somewhat hastily, that what is good for us must also be good for children; we attempt to feed them with strong food, instead of with the milk fit for babes. This applies especially to the compulsory attendance at church during the week days, which I cannot think expedient. A very large proportion of the children who attend are not of an age to comprehend the benefit conferred upon them by social worship; they look solely at the compulsion exercised, and they thus get a habit of associating the idea of attendance at church with feelings of annoyance and discomfort." How carefully do we, as parents, watch over the feelings of our children with reference to this very matter; how anxious are we to impress upon them that to attend church is a privilege; how do we strive to ward off the feelings of weariness at the length of the service, which naturally affect a child when he first begins to go to church! Let us, then, deal with these unfortunate children[1] as we do with our own; let us bring them gradually forward, till they begin to feel that what was originally a privilege has become a pleasurable duty, and in this way we shall best attain the object we have in view.

With regard to Mr. Ewing's suggestion that the time now devoted to attendance at church should be given up to the chaplain to read and expound a chapter in the Bible; in fact, that the time should be allotted to direct and special religious instruction, I think it unobjectionable, leaving it to Mr. Ewing[2] and Captain Booth[3] to settle the details in the manner which may to them seem best with reference to the other school arrangements.

Yours very truly,

W. D.

[1] The children of the Orphan School.

[2] The chaplain.

[3] The superintendent.

To Sir George Grey.

Hobart Town, July 20, 1849.

My dear Grey,—Clarke told me that you had expressed a wish to be furnished with a report upon the coal fields of Van Diemen's Land, which I caused Dr. Milligan to draw up. He is sending you a copy of this; and I will take the opportunity to give you a sketch of what I have done, and am doing, to develop our mineral resources.

Till lately, the only coal worked was a mine on Tasman's Peninsula, which was opened by the Convict Department, but which I have let for 1,200*l.* per annum. The coal is a species of anthracite, of poor quality, but it answers well enough for the kitchen. The mines on the east coast are much more promising; the seams are thicker, and the quality better: two companies are already formed for working these, to which I have agreed to grant leases for seven years, on the payment of a royalty of 2*d.* per ton on all coal raised. One of the companies petitioned for a longer lease, and I proposed to extend this for the two periods of equal length, adding 2*d.* per ton to the amount of the royalty for each period, so that for the last seven years of a twenty-one years' lease, the royalty would be 6*d.* per ton. I also propose to construct for the company a tram-road to convey the coal to the shipping place for another 2*d.* per ton, giving it the privilege of purchasing up this last payment, by repaying to the Government the cost of the road. I added this provision or concession in order that the company might have the whole of its capital available for the early and expensive business of commencing the workings; and thus give spirit and energy to the speculation.

Clarke gave me a most interesting account of New Zealand; he has come back in admiration of your native

subjects. He gave me a professional sketch of a pah; and, according to his account, a well-built entrenchment of this kind must be a formidable obstacle; but in dealing with savages, I should be inclined to fall back upon the tactics of our old friend and master, Cæsar. I should inclose them with strong lines of circumvallation, cut them off from provisions and water, and starve them into surrender. The unconditional surrender of a body of half-starved savages, with Heki at their head, would create a prestige in our favour which might be obtained without any risk, or, at all events, at a very trifling risk. A circumvallation of felled trees might be soon made; artillery can hardly be brought up in such a quantity, or of calibre enough to act against the timber works of a pah; and against light guns or howitzers, the underground defences afford sufficient protection.

I should be glad to propose you as an honorary member of our Royal Society: we hope to publish some papers quarterly or half-yearly, some of which may be interesting.

Yours, very truly,

W. D.

Extracts from Journal.

Hobart Town, August 3, 1849.

Well, dearest M——, the meeting of Council went off much as usual: my good man's address was shorter than it has ever yet been, and ought to be 'sweet,' as well as short, for he has some pleasant things to say on the subject of the finances of the colony. We had a very odd old guest at dinner yesterday: rather a dreadful old man, who, I believe, writes some of the articles in the newspapers, abusing W—— and the Government, varies the theme, in his conversation, by an occasional flourish against the clergy, and withal seems to have a somewhat exalted opinion of himself. W—— did not, however, attempt much argument with him: so, throughout the

dinner and evening, the old man was principal spokesman, and this, I suppose, pleased him well; for when he was at the hall door, taking his departure, he remarked to Mr. Clarke who had accompanied him out of the drawing room, 'Pleasant evening, Sir—feast of reason, Sir—and flow of soul!'

August 13.—Dearest ——,—I finished my last letter on Friday, just when W—— and I were about to set out for New Norfolk, on a three days' visit to the S——'s. I meant to have begun my letter to you from thence, but the dreadful shock we have all received to-day has now put everything else comparatively out of my head. Before we went away, Captain Stanley had been unwell, with what seemed to be a mere bilious attack; and he was so much better last Thursday, the day before we went, that he talked of coming up to his office as usual the following day; and I parted from Mrs. Stanley that evening saying, 'I suppose when we come home, we shall find him all right again.' Judge, then, of our feelings, when, this morning, just as we were getting up, an orderly arrived at full speed, bearing a letter from Dr. Dawson, the principal medical officer, to say that Captain Stanley was actually dying! Of course W—— ordered his horse at once, set off as soon as he was dressed, and rode down here, twenty-two miles, in little more than an hour and a half; but alas! even this speed was not sufficient: all was over about five minutes before he arrived; and all he could do was to remove poor Mrs. Stanley at once to Government House, as the cottage where they resided was too small to allow of her remaining there under such circumstances. I came down as soon as the carriage could be got ready, but, owing to the very bad state of the roads, I did not get here till near twelve o'clock. I have since been watching over poor Mrs. Stanley, who is now asleep from sheer exhaustion (for she was up all last night). Poor W—— has looked very ill all day, and I dread the effect of the shock upon him.

August 21.—Dearest——, —I have been so sorry not to have been able to write to you at all this last week, particularly as I wanted to have finished this in time to go by the 'Marmion,' but it has been quite impossible: my time has been taken up in writing letters to the poor Stanleys, and to Mrs. Stanley's family; and I felt sure you would all forgive my putting even you off for once, in favour of these poor mourners. Saturday was, indeed, a heavy and sorrowful day to us all: it was the day of the funeral. I was pleased at the universal sympathy that was manifested; the numbers who, at their own desire, attended the funeral, were, I am told, even greater than those at the funeral of poor Sir Eardley Wilmot: all the shops were closed, and all the banks. The Bishop, who read the service, could hardly get through it; and my poor William looked so white and suffering, that everyone expected him to come home quite ill. In truth, he had a bad headache, as I fully expected he would, after all he has gone through, and I am afraid it will not be improved by his having to meet the Council this afternoon. I must tell you that they (the Council) adjourned for a week, of their own accord, on hearing of Captain Stanley's death: William did not like to propose it to them, knowing that the delay of business must be a serious inconvenience to those amongst them whose homes were distant in the country; but they proposed it themselves. Good-bye, dearest, this is not such a letter as I like to send you: it seems hurried and unsatisfactory, but I feel as if I had even yet scarcely time to write otherwise, or heart to write anything but about those who have so exclusively occupied our thoughts since this was begun.

September 27.—Dearest ——, — Since I wrote last, our plans for our journey up the country have formed themselves into something like shape; and invitations are beginning to pour in from the different settlers whose houses lie in our way. W—— proposes to go on Monday

up to Bothwell, the nearest township to Abyssinia, and to finish the hunting season by two days in that neighbourhood. On Friday, when the hunting is over, he is to ride through the bush to 'Lovely Banks,' the house of Mr. Bisdee, where I and the two little girls are to join him, starting from Hobart Town that morning, and reaching Mr. Bisdee's by the regular road. I am getting rather curious and anxious about W——'s reception in the country during our *progress*, for there has been another storm in our little political world, arising from a circumstance which, I must say, seems rather hard upon him. The case is this: W—— was called upon some months ago by the Secretary of State to express an opinion on the subject of the new constitution for the colony, and in doing this he was obliged to make some remarks on the general character of society here, which, in his opinion, made it desirable that there should be, as I believe there is in some colonies, a kind of upper chamber (a little miniature senate, or House of Lords, or whatever one may choose to call it), as well as the larger representative assembly. Of course, he was bound to give his opinion on these matters, and his reasons for it; and really his remarks were by no means hard ones. But somehow or other this despatch, which was marked 'Confidential,' and was never intended to form part of a blue book, was printed by the Colonial Office, and so came out here, in a printed form, for all eyes to see, remarks and all! So people are furious: the papers are nearly as violent and abusive as ever, on what they call the Governor's calumnies and libels on the people; and though there are some persons who are candid enough to allow that, of course, W—— was bound to give his true opinion in the despatch, and that it is rather hard upon him to have that opinion published here to his detriment, I am afraid it has made a ferment altogether. The other day Mr. Clarke had a

sort of warning letter from an officer quartered at Oatlands, in the heart of the country; kindly meant, evidently, but saying that, from the language he had heard among the settlers in these parts, he thinks that if W—— goes to the Midland agricultural dinner at Campbell Town, he will be insulted. I do not think this will be the case, however, as the Midland agricultural show and dinner is an annual thing. W—— has always been asked to it, and as it will take place the week after next, when we propose to be in that part of the country, he means to go there. I think if they had meant to insult him, they would have done so by not sending him the usual invitation; and as they have sent it, I can hardly think that they would have asked him for the purpose of insulting him.

October 2.—Yesterday W—— had another warning letter from the Bishop, who is gone up the country, about that same Agricultural dinner at Campbell Town. The Bishop seems to think he is sure to be insulted if he goes there, so he wants him to write now, and decline going; but that would never do, as it is known that we shall be in the neighbourhood that week; to decline the invitation would look as if W—— was, or thought he had reason to be, ashamed or afraid to meet the settlers there; so he still means to go.

Oatlands, October 7.—We set out on Friday, and arrived in the evening at Mr. Bisdee's, where W—— met us. Yesterday we came on here, where we are remaining at the inn over to-day, Sunday. We have been this morning to a nice little church, where the service is well conducted, and we are going again in the evening. There is no afternoon service, as the clergyman has to serve another church at *Jericho*. The storm excited by the publication of W——'s despatch is raging around us worse and worse. The Roman Catholic priest of this village, a shrewd, clever Jesuit, who, being a gentleman-like and agreeable man, is a good deal in the society

of the neighbourhood, and knows, as well as most people, what is going on, saw Mr. Clarke yesterday evening, and gave him an account of the late proceedings of this Midland Agricultural Association. They called a meeting to deliberate on the propriety of withdrawing their invitation to W—— to dine with them next Wednesday; and though this was overruled by a majority of the committee, the feeling was so strong that some, I believe, will not dine there to meet him, and many others, of the more respectable of the set, have withdrawn in disgust at the insult which, they say, has already been put upon W——, by the very calling of such a meeting, and also in unwillingness to be present where, they say, he is sure to be insulted, and where they shall have no power to enforce the good behaviour of the rest.

Mona Vale, October 9.—We left Oatlands at eleven o'clock yesterday, and came on to this place (Mr. Kermode's) where we are to remain till to-morrow. The Attorney-General, Mr. Fleming, is here; he thinks, as W—— does, that he ought to go to the dinner; and I suppose he will, but I am not a little curious as to the result.

Rhodes, Van Diemen's Land, October 12.—Dearest ——, I finished my letter on Tuesday by saying that I was rather curious and anxious as to the result of the Agricultural dinner at Campbell Town. W—— adhered to his intention of going, notwithstanding the numerous warnings he received from all sides, that he would expose himself to insults and unpleasantnesses by so doing. And now I cannot tell you how glad I am that he adhered to his own judgment in the matter, nor how thankful I am for the result; for it has both done good, and given him a success and advantage such as we never dreamed of; for it literally was the case, that those who met him at first with evident tokens of unfriendly ceiing, parted from him with demonstrations

of cordiality and respect such as, they say, have never before been shown to any Governor at one of these agricultural meetings. I must take up my history, however, from where I left it off, on Tuesday; for even that day did not finish without a small event, which amused me not a little. This was, the arrival of Mrs. —— and her daughter to dinner. Mr. —— was one of those indignant colonists who would not even come and meet W—— at dinner at Mr. Kermode's, where we were staying; but a little bird whispered to us that this decision of his was strongly disliked by the ladies of his family. They wished to come to the dinner at Mr. Kermode's on Monday; but no! the husband and father was inexorable. However, he allowed them to come over on Tuesday to call on me; and during their visit I thought I heard Mrs. Kermode repeating to them her invitation to come to dinner that day, and sure enough, when dinner-time came, they arrived; so it was evident the ladies of the family had got the upper hand at last. Well—Wednesday morning came, and off we went to Campbell Town, driving to the inn, and thence walking to the place where the cattle show was to be, and going round the pens, &c. You will easily imagine that, during this process, my chief *eyes* and attention were not bestowed on the horses, cattle, and sheep, but on the countenances and manners of people, and their behaviour to W——; and so far, I was satisfied to see that they were all quiet and civil; but then, the great trial of their behaviour had not come on yet; and in other respects, things certainly did not look promising. Placards, magnanimously absurd, certainly, but abusive of W——, were being hawked about in the town, and all those who felt well disposed towards him seemed to augur ill of the results of the dinner. We spent the afternoon at the house of Mr. Leake (the member of Council), and returned to the inn about six o'clock, W—— to be ready for the dinner, I to await the result.

The dinner did not take place at the inn where we were, but at another at the further end of the village. When they went into the room, Mr. C—— tells me, people looked 'grim,' and lowering; however, all went on quietly, till after dinner, when, the usual loyal toasts having been given, the chairman rose to propose W——'s health. Mr. C——, who was all eyes and ears on the occasion, saw, then, some tokens of the feeling which had been excited; he noticed that some of the members barely rose and put their glasses to their lips, and would not join in the cheers. But W—— got up to return thanks; and Mr. C—— says he spoke so well, without a pause or hesitation, that he (Mr. C——) attributes the change of feeling to the effect of his speech. He said that it would be affectation in him to deny that he was aware that much painful feeling had been excited by the publication of his despatch; but that he felt that the design and tendency of that despatch had been misunderstood, and that though this was not the place in which he could speak further on the subject, inasmuch as they were met for agricultural and not for political purposes, it would afford him pleasure to give, at another time, to any gentleman, or body of gentlemen, from those then assembled, an explanation of his meaning in that despatch, which would, he hoped, tend to remove the misconception. Then arose vehement applause, from those who had looked most scowling before; and then W——, true to his intention of keeping these meetings as clear as possible of all politics, digressed into the subject of agriculture, and gave them an account of some experiments he had lately had carried on in connection with the subject, which evidently excited their interest, and helped, too, I hope, to convince them that he was exerting himself to develope to the utmost the resources of the country. In short, the whole feeling of the meeting was changed; cordiality seemed quite restored; other friendly

toasts were given, and when W—— got up to come away, he was, as I have told you, saluted with more respect and warm feeling than has ever before been displayed on such an occasion. You may suppose that all this caused us to end the day right happily and thankfully!

Entally, Monday, October 15.—We came here on Saturday, as we intended; and went yesterday to a nice little church in a village called Carrick, where the whole aspect of the church and congregation is more like that of an English country church than any I have yet seen here. I am in hopes that the despatch storm is beginning to pass away; at any rate, one of the Launceston papers, pleased, I suppose, at our coming there, has suddenly turned round, and taken up W——'s cause furiously; and from what our host, Mr. Reibey, has told me of his conversation with various people in Launceston, it seems plain that the violent abuse, the placards which were sent out to Campbell Town, but really drawn up in Launceston, are only the work of a party, and that the general feeling is, at all events, against that mode of testifying disapprobation. Most of the shopkeepers in Launceston refused to allow the placards to be put up in their windows; and the friendly newspaper is denouncing by name the few who did allow it! An odd set of people they are, certainly!

Launceston, October 18.—The storm has not quite subsided yet, though I think it has very nearly, and is only now kept up by a few; and I think W——'s cause is triumphing altogether, for a most absurd thing has happened about these Midland Agriculturists. W—— told them, you know, at the dinner at Campbell Town, that he should be most happy to give an explanation of those parts of his despatch which he thought had been misunderstood, to any gentlemen who liked to call upon him for one. They accordingly agreed that a deputation should wait on him next Tuesday (the day on which we

hope to be at Campbell Town again on our way home), for this purpose. In the meantime, they have, it appears, been conning over the despatch, to see what there is in it which requires explanation; and when they come thus to look into it, they actually can find nothing!! and they have been obliged to ask Mr. Clarke to ask W—— himself to help them in framing their questions!!! This, of course, W—— will not do.

Campbell Town, October 23.—I have not had time to write since Friday. On Saturday we drove to Clarendon, a place about seventeen miles from Launceston, belonging to a Mr. Cox. He gave us a good luncheon, and afterwards took us out to see what I was curious to look at, viz. some of the largest species of kangaroo, called here 'foresters,' which abound on his property, though they are rare in most parts of the island. Accordingly, we soon came on a herd of these creatures, in a part of his park where they showed off in most amusing contrast with a herd of deer, which he also keeps there: the grace of the one tribe of animals and the awkwardness of the other having quite a comical effect when you saw them so close together. I was rather disappointed in the size of the 'foresters,' which, I had been told, stood as high as a man; but it certainly is a laughable sight to see a troop of them in motion. The Midland Agriculturists have at last succeeded in framing some queries on the subject of the despatch, and W—— wrote down what he had to say in answer, and read it, and the deputation went away apparently satisfied; but I shall never think of Campbell Town again without thinking of a political storm.

Hobart Town, October 29.—On Saturday evening the 'Swift,' a small man of war brig, arrived here with the state prisoners on board, Messrs. Smith O'Brien, Meagher, M'Manus, and O'Donahue; they are rather a troublesome charge, and I think W—— would have been full as well pleased if they had been sent anywhere but here, and placed under anybody else's jurisdiction

than his. If, indeed, he might put them into grey jackets, and send them to wheel barrows on the wharf, or break stones on the roads, like any ordinary convict, it would simplify the matter very considerably: but such does not appear to be the intention of the Home Government; and yet the orders they have sent out are not so precise but that it seems as if they purposely left a good deal to the discretion of the individuals under whom the prisoners are placed. Thus, the directions given to W—— are, that if they behave well, and promise to adhere to the regulations established here, he is to give them tickets of leave at once: if not, he is to put them under greater restraint. A ticket of leave places a person in an anomalous position,—a kind of half and half state between freedom and bondage: it allows him to live on his own means, if he has any, or else to earn his living in any way he pleases; but, on the other hand, he must live in any district of the island that the Governor appoints, and may not leave that district without a pass from the police magistrate. He is under the surveillance of the authorities, and subject to the summary convict law, which is different in many respects from, and much more severe than, the ordinary law, under which the free inhabitants live. The prisoners are to be landed to-day, and W—— has no place to send them to, in the first instance, but the ordinary prisoners' barracks. I suppose, however, that they will not stay there long, but soon get their tickets of leave, and proceed to their different destinations; for W—— is quite determined on one point, which is, that he will not allow them to remain together, but will distribute them into different districts. The orders which Captain Aldham, the commander of the 'Swift,' received about their treatment while on board, were also somewhat vague: they were to be fed as convicts generally are on board ship, unless their health, *or other circumstances*, required a better diet. They had each a cabin to himself, and

were not obliged to wear a convict's dress. In short, they seem to be treated neither like one thing nor the other, neither as convicts nor as free men.

October 30.—I have been very busy all day, so I must steal a little time this evening to tell you how W—— has gone on with his state prisoners. Yesterday morning he set to work conning over the instructions he had received about their treatment, and framing therefrom a minute, which he gave to Mr. Nairn, the Deputy Comptroller of convicts (the Comptroller-General being absent), to show him how to proceed. In pursuance of these directions, Mr. Nairn went on board the 'Swift,' and informed the prisoners that they were to have tickets-of-leave, provided that they would enter into an engagement to obey certain regulations common to all ticket-of-leave holders (such as reporting themselves periodically to the police magistrate of the district in which they reside, &c.), and not to use the comparative liberty which a ticket would give them, in making any efforts to escape. For three hours did Mr. Nairn remain on board, explaining all this to them, and waiting for their *written* answers to the offer. At last these answers were brought to W——, and they were as follows: Mr. Smith O'Brien and Mr. M'Manus would not come to any terms with the Government at all: they would not accept a ticket of leave, they would make no promise or engagement, nor do anything which would seem to imply acquiescence in the situation in which they were placed. Mr. Meagher also does not like to bind himself by such promises for an indefinite time, but will enter into such an engagement for the next six months; while Mr. O'Donahoo, the wisest of the four, I think, thankfully accepted the Government terms, and only begged that he might be allowed to live in town, because, having no money of his own, he should, he said, be obliged to earn his living, as he had hitherto done, in an attorney's office, and this he could only do in town.

To all this W—— soon sent a reply: he acceded at once to Mr. O'Donahoo's request, which appeared reasonable; he has also granted Mr. Meagher's, as it seems evident that the home government wishes him to lean to the side of indulgence; and he will therefore send him to Campbell Town, there to reside for the present, on the footing of a ticket-of-leave holder, only charging the police magistrate there to lay his hand upon him the moment the six months are over, and either make him renew his engagement, or place him under restraint. And Messrs. O'Brien and M'Manus had their answer too: and it was that since they declined taking their tickets of leave, he (W——) should be compelled to place them more on the footing of prisoners; that they would therefore be sent; Mr. O'Brien to Maria Island, Mr. M'Manus to Salt Water River, where they would be obliged to show themselves so many times each day to the Superintendent of these stations, and would be confined within strict limits, not allowed to go beyond a certain distance from the station, &c. Still they are to have certain indulgences: they will each have a little house to themselves, and not be compelled to work; but W—— ended by informing them that any attempt to escape would have the effect of subjecting them, in every respect, to the ordinary treatment of convicts, and causing them to lose the indulgences they at present retain. They are to be shipped off for their destinations to-morrow morning.

It was a great pity ever to send them out on such half and half terms. Why should so much more indulgence be shown to a convict of good birth and education than to any other? It is true that the punishment of transportation would fall more heavily on the gentleman than on one belonging to the lower classes; but so, I think, it ought to do; because the superiority of his education and circumstances make a crime in him more inexcusable; particularly when, as in the present case, he has made use

of his superiority to lead his ignorant and uneducated countrymen into crimes. Therefore, if Messrs. O'Brien & Co. really had been sent to wheel barrows on our wharf, in grey jackets and leather caps, I do not think they would have had more than their deserts; and all that can be said in favour of the present system of treatment is, that the English certainly are a generous people, and do not like to tread upon the fallen foe: for which let us give ourselves credit, even though our generosity may be sometimes rather mistaken.

Hobart Town, November 2. — Dearest ——, — I finished my last letter on Tuesday evening: on Wednesday morning I amused myself by watching, from my bedroom window, which overlooks the harbour, the embarkation of Mr. Smith O'Brien for his destination, Maria Island: his companion in folly, Mr. M'Manus, repented almost at the last moment, and accepted his ticket of leave; and so also have two new state prisoners, who arrived the day before yesterday, Messrs. Martin and Doherty; so Mr. O'Brien is now the only victim. Captain Aldham, of the 'Swift,' who dined with us that day, says that his (Mr. O'Brien's) present mood of mind is evidently that of wishing to be made a martyr of; he would really like to be treated with severity, that he might have something to make a sensation, and excite commiseration with; and he will probably, therefore, be extremely disgusted with his situation on Maria Island: no martyrdom, no grievance, and *nobody to hear of it* if he had one!

November 27.—A very heavy gale from the S.W., which is still raging, has blown in both the 'Rattler' and the 'Windermere,' so that we are full of letters—thank God! very satisfactory ones. The letters by the 'Rattler' give us a full account of Judge M——'s appeal, and its result; which was, that the Privy Council were of opinion that substantial justice had been done, in spite of some

little irregularity in the form; and therefore they did not hesitate to confirm the decision of the Governor and Council against Judge M——. I must tell you, for the sake of the *legal* credit of my good man, that the one point in which there was a legal irregularity was one in which his opinion was overruled by the majority of the Executive Council: his own method of proceeding would, it appears, have been exactly the right one.

December 6.—The state prisoners are beginning to show off a little of their wisdom and good conduct. Mr. Smith O'Brien wrote a letter the other day to his companion in exile, Mr. Meagher, with a copy of verses of his own composing, setting forth how he had been oppressed, ill-used, *murdered*, and I do not know what besides, by the 'tyrant Denison.' Mr. O'Brien, however, having refused a ticket of leave, is still in the condition of a convict, consequently all his correspondence is subject to inspection; and this *morçeau* was accordingly opened at the Comptroller-General's Office, and returned to him, with an intimation that he could not be allowed to disseminate ebullitions of that sort. The other prisoners, meanwhile, are, it is strongly suspected, setting up a newspaper here, to be called 'The Irish Exile and Freedom's Advocate,' or some such name; placards were put up in the town some days ago, announcing the first number of this paper to come out on the 5th of January next. From the tone of the placards, it is evident that the paper will be a violent one; and there is more than suspicion, almost positive proof, that these state prisoners are the authors of it. W——, however, is waiting for quite decisive evidence before he takes any step in consequence; meanwhile, he has possessed himself of one of the placards, in readiness to send it home to Lord Grey, as a specimen of the language they are holding, if it is proved to be theirs, of which there seems but little doubt.

January 11, 1850.—We had a rather amusing account

the other day from Dr. Dawson, the principal medical officer, of his visit to Maria Island, and interview with Smith O'Brien.

It appears that that worthy is getting very tired of his confinement, but still cannot bring himself to ask for his ticket of leave, which he refused when it was first offered. He has not been, or has not thought himself, quite well lately, either; and he is evidently under the delusion that his case is exciting great interest and sympathy here, and that somebody or *bodies* will ask for a ticket of leave for him, thus allowing him to gain the comparative freedom without compromising his own sulky dignity. He gave sundry insinuations of the kind to Dr. Dawson, evidently hoping that he would do so, but this hope proved vain. Dr. Dawson was very sorry that he had not been well, but in answer to the idea that the confinement did him harm, reminded him that his remaining there depended only on himself, since there could be no doubt that a ticket of leave would be granted him, if he asked for it; and he has desired the resident medical officer there to pursue the same line, watching his health and giving him any little extra indulgence in the way of diet, &c. that may seem advisable; and to keep impressing on him that if he requires change, it depends upon himself to get it, by the simple process of asking.

To Mrs. Denison.

Hobart Town, February 13, 1850.

My dearest Mother,—I shall not close this letter till the next vessel is about to sail, but I shall scribble away what I have to tell, for, as I am going up the country next week, I might not find time to finish the letter. Three vessels arrived from California yesterday and the day before, bringing some gold, and more promises of success to emigrants, so that the population is now at fever heat. The prices of flour, potatoes, &c. have run up nearly

50 per cent. for they seem to say that provisions are likely to be scarce in California, owing to the difficulty of finding storage room for goods which may be landed; so that the people must be dependent on casual supplies. Letters have been received from several parties who have emigrated from this colony; each of these is, of course, coloured with the peculiar character of the writer, and typical of the success he has met with: but the accounts, on the whole, are such as to tempt the gambling spirit of mankind, for the place would seem to be like a lottery where there are many prizes, but also many blanks. Those to whom strong health has been granted, who have an aptitude for toil and a willingness to work, are certain to do well: they who have gone to California from a mere wish to indulge an idle disposition, to get wealth without labour, are probably worse off than they were here. There does not appear to be much opening for the educated classes; at least the letters state that many qualified to work with their heads, are obliged to trust to their hands, and are earning five dollars, or more than a pound per day, by sweeping the streets, or wheeling barrows like common labourers. The state of society does not appear to be quite so bad as one would have imagined, considering the character of the population congregated together: in fact, I suppose, gold is so plentiful that it is not worth stealing: at the same time, as Lynch law prevails, the punishment is so severe upon those caught or even suspected (for very trifling evidence satisfies Judge Lynch) as to deter many who might otherwise feel inclined to tamper with their neighbour's goods. These colonies will derive a benefit from the discovery of the Californian gold, for a market will be opened for a time, at all events, for their produce; but they will suffer, and I am afraid severely, by the drain in their population. We have now eight or ten vessels loading for San Francisco, even from this small place, and as each will take a full

cargo of emigrants, we shall lose the persons upon whose labour we depend to get in and reap the crops, which are to bring a return of Californian gold. All this goes to prove the necessity of keeping up a steady stream of convicts, whose services may be depended on. Free emigrants make this merely a stepping stone to California: their passages are paid to Sydney and this place, and they ship themselves off by the very next vessel to San Francisco. I was talking the other day to an intelligent captain of a vessel trading between this place and Adelaide, and was informed by him that the price of labour in that colony, notwithstanding the immense immigration which took place last year, was still full double of the rate here, and yet here our prices are quite as high as in England. God bless you, my dearest mother. I hope in my next letter to give you an account of my trip into the new country, and a satisfactory report as to its capabilities.

Your affectionate Son,

W. D.

The immediate object of the following letter to the Bishop of Tasmania, was to bring under his notice the working of the system of lay agency among the Wesleyans; but the reason why I felt bound to call his lordship's attention to this arose out of a conversation I had with the chaplain of the Penitentiary, or great convict establishment at Hobart Town. I wanted to learn from him what the effect of his ministrations had been upon the great body of the convicts; and I was not, I confess, surprised when he told me that upon the mass he could make no impression: now and then, however, he said that individuals were brought to a sense of their condition, and showed evidence of genuine repentance; but these, as soon as their period of punishment was completed, and they were released from prison, nearly always joined the Wesleyans. When I expressed some surprise at this, he

appeared to think it almost a matter of course; and the reasons he gave led me to agree with him.

'While the convict is in gaol (he said) he has me to talk to; I am always ready to read with him, to give him advice, to reply to doubts, to hold out hopes and encouragement to him. So soon, however, as he is released from gaol, he is thrown upon his own resources: the chaplain of the parish cannot give up to a single individual the amount of time which I was too glad to devote to the man when in gaol; he has other duties to perform. The liberated convict, therefore, feels the want of that familiar intercourse which he had with me in the Penitentiary; and while he is in this uncomfortable state, feeling a loss which he knows not how to supply, one of the lay agents of the Wesleyans hears of him, seeks him out, speaks to him in language which he comprehends, points out his deficiencies, asks him to attend their worship and in a short time, induces him to become a member of the Wesleyan body. It is not so much that he leaves the Church of England, in point of fact he was but a nominal member of it; but he joins a body with whom he finds the sympathy and help which he in vain sought for in the Church.'

This led me to make some enquiries as to the working of the Wesleyan system; and Mr. Boyce, the superintendent of that body, happening to pay a visit to Hobart Town, I got from him a good deal of information on this subject, and a copy of the pamphlet alluded to in my letter to the Bishop, which I read with great interest. The letter will explain the view which I took at the time.

To the Bishop of Tasmania.

My dear Lord,—I send you a little pamphlet forwarded to me by Mr. Boyce, the Superintendent of the Wesleyans in these colonies. I do not ask you to read the whole of it, but merely to look at the general tabular return at the end, where I have turned down the page. It would

appear from this that the Wesleyans have no fewer than thirty-seven places of public worship, although they have only six ministers; the deficiency being made up by twenty-seven local preachers and forty-eight class readers. It has often struck me that we should do wisely to take a hint from other Christian bodies; and that in a colony like this, where the population is scattered, and the means, both in men and money, at the disposal of the Church, very inadequate to her wants, we might call upon the voluntary energies of such as are willing to devote a portion of their time to further the work of the Church, in strict subordination to those appointed by law to guide and direct.

I have often thought, since I came to the colony, that the organisation of the Church, while well adapted for a country where the population is collected together in dense masses, is altogether unfitted for a state of society like ours, where families, and even individuals, are dotted about the country, far beyond the reach of any resident minister, and only accessible by either a travelling missionary or a zealous lay brother who would voluntarily undertake to visit these stray sheep at stated periods. If this be the case in this country, it is, as far as I can learn, ten times as bad in New South Wales.

Would it not, then, be as well to attempt to organise a system adapted to the wants of the colonies, keeping in view, of course, the great principles of Church government as adopted by the Church of England, but modifying the details so as to suit our present and probable future exigencies? While I say 'these colonies,' I mean more especially to refer to this. You could carry out a plan at once here without much trouble, but a combined system which would embrace New South Wales, South Australia, Port Phillip, &c., would most probably meet with opposition, or would have its details so modified as to render it practically inefficient.

I have long been conscious of the evil arising out of the

absence of proper, or indeed I might almost say of any religious instruction: it would be hopeless to expect to obtain funds for the purpose of supporting a sufficient number of ordained ministers, but something might be done to fill up the gap occasioned by the absence of these. I ought to apologise for writing thus to you, but I feel sure that you will excuse a step which I have been induced to take by a wish to benefit the Church, and to extend the advantages whereof it is the channel.

Yours very truly,

W. D.

It will be seen that, in this letter, I have assumed the existing organisation of the Church to be well adapted to the state of things in a country where the population is grouped together in large masses. Further consideration, and an experience of the evils arising out of the absence of religious training in the colonies, in America, and in England, has compelled me to alter this opinion. I feel convinced that the system of lay agency, by which each member of the Church is made an efficient working man, advocated above as eminently fitted to convey religious truths and principles of action to the scattered population of a colony, is still more needed, and still better adapted to supply the wants of the crowded population of our towns.

The Church of England, under its existing organisation, is very like a regiment, or a collection of regiments, having the ranks of the commissioned officers but scantily filled, while it does not possess a single non-commissioned officer. Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, pointed out to him that in managing such a body as that of the Israelites, a gradation of officers from the captains of thousands to the captains of tens, was a matter of necessity; and the experience of military men will bear out my assertion that these gradations of rank are absolutely essential to the proper organisation of a military body. The analogy between

a regiment and a Church is not, perhaps, at first sight, very close, but a little consideration will soon show its correctness.

The clergyman has to deal with a mixed population, equal in numbers, in country parishes, to a regiment: he has to look after their moral discipline, to teach them their duties, to reprove neglect, to exhort to good conduct; he has, besides, to find time to read, to think; to keep his mind active; and he has also to perform his duties as a husband and a father. Who is sufficient for all these, even in a country district? And with what hopeless eyes must a clergyman, who has the care of a large town population, look upon his charge! To the colonel of a regiment we give three commissioned officers to each company, and four or five or more non-commissioned officers, whose special duty it is to look into all the petty details of the daily life of a soldier: to the clergyman we give no help. A very trifling acquaintance with the character of the population in the country parishes will testify to the total failure of the existing system, even in these; while in the large towns everywhere, and in London above all, it is heart-rending to witness the state of things which prevails in the districts where the poorer classes are congregated together, where life presents but few pleasures and fewer hopes; where there is little fear of man, because there is but little that man can take away, and where there is still less fear of God, whom few have been taught to reverence or love.

To Admiral Beaufort.

Hobart Town, May 3, 1850.

My dear Admiral,—I got your letter, acknowledging the receipt of the chart of the harbour of Hobart Town, and am very glad to find that it was worth your acceptance. I shall be able shortly, I hope, to send you the

other side of Storm Bay, so as to complete the outline of the entrance to this place.

Keppel, in the 'Mæander,' came in here a few weeks ago to look for a mizen mast; I offered him the choice of a gum stick, or the mizen mast of the old 'Anson.' He took the latter, as he found it sound; but I should have been glad to have sent home one of the sticks which I cut down for him: the only objection to it was its weight, which was about double that of pine. During his stay here, I got him to send his master in a small schooner, which I lent him, to make some soundings, and I forward you the tracing of the results of his labours: the weather was unfavourable, or we should have had a better display of results. Six to six and a half fathoms is the least water inside the Iron Pot light, and the general depth is twelve to fourteen fathoms. May, the master, is a very worthy, hard-working man; and I should be glad to find employment for him as harbour master when an opportunity offers. I am in hopes of seeing Erskine in the 'Havannah' down here soon, when I will try to have some more soundings taken; or if Oliver, in the 'Fly,' could give me a month or so next spring or summer, I should be glad to get soundings of the harbour of Port Davey. I shall soon have the survey of the outline of it finished: I have got an order for 100 loads of blue gum timber for the dock-yards, and will send such as has seldom been seen, as far as length is concerned. I can give 150 feet easily; many of the trees measure that up to the first branch, the total height being 260 or 270, and the girth from twenty to thirty feet. The heart wood is not used; therefore, we do not get very heavy logs, but for planking or sided timber it would be invaluable. Deck timbers could be got in one piece: I have known four keel pieces, each 120 feet long, cut out of one tree. I shall be glad to hear from you occasionally, when you have a few minutes to spare.

Yours very truly,

W. D.

To Mrs. Denison.

August 28, 1850.

My dearest Mother,—The last packet brought me a letter from E—— with a satisfactory account of the effect produced by a despatch of mine on the subject of the new constitution of these colonies, upon men who had been bitterly opposed to me in the business of Judge M——. He also told me that the Government approved of all I had done in the case of Smith O'Brien; and, indeed, the result has shown that the precautions taken were not more than necessary for the security of the prisoner. About ten days ago, a report was floating about town that O'Brien had escaped. I mentioned it to the Comptroller-General, who told me that he had that very morning received information that the attempt had been made, but that it had been frustrated by the courage and presence of mind of a convict constable. The report of the escape was a little premature, but it was considered by the persons engaged, that their arrangements were so complete as to render the matter certain. They had bribed some of the people employed about the station, and had communicated with O'Brien through an Irish Roman Catholic priest. He was informed that a small vessel would be off the island on a certain day, and that a boat would be sent ashore for him, into which he was to jump, and the vessel would sail immediately for California. The Government, however, had had some suspicion that an attempt would be made, and in consequence a constable was ordered to keep watch over O'Brien, without allowing himself to be seen; the prisoner having been permitted, for the sake of his health, to move about for a short distance from the station, in company with an officer. Well, the vessel came abreast of the island; O'Brien was walking with the officer (whom he had bribed) on the shore; the boat pushed off with three

men, and got within twenty yards of the land. O'Brien rushed into the sea to get on board, when out came the constable with his musket; the men in the boat threw down their oars, came to land, and were walked quietly back some thirty yards into the bush. O'Brien, who had got into the boat, and was trying to push off, was compelled to come out of her, a hole was knocked in her bottom, and as he refused to walk back to the station, the three men who had come to rescue him were made to carry him. Was not this a most absurd termination? A boat was then sent after the vessel, and she was taken possession of. I have sent O'Brien to a place of more safe custody, and have told him that I do not propose to take any special notice of this attempt to escape, but that should it be repeated, I should treat him as an ordinary convict, and send him to work with the gang. He has evidently been contemplating his escape from the beginning, and this has made him refuse his parole, which I believe his sense of honour would not allow him to break; but this scheme, like all others in which he has meddled, has been a failure. Even supposing that he had got on board the schooner, the wind was so light that the whale boat which would have been sent after him, would have overhauled the vessel in half an hour, and recaptured him.

September.—Smith O'Brien has written to say that he will take his ticket of leave like the other state prisoners, if the Government will pardon the Superintendent whose negligence allowed him to make the attempt! A modest proposal, is it not? It would seem that he fancied he was conferring a favour upon the Government by accepting his ticket of leave. However, as he is beginning to nibble at the bait, I dare say I shall soon get rid of him.

Your affectionate Son,

W. D.

CHAPTER V.

PRODUCTS OF VAN DIEMEN'S LAND SENT TO THE EXHIBITION OF 1851—JUBILEE ON THE INTRODUCTION OF REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS—THREATENED DIFFICULTIES WITH IRISH REBELS—M'MANUS APPLIES FOR A WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS—DECISION OF THE JUDGES ON M'MANUS'S APPLICATION—BREACH OF PAROLE, AND ESCAPE OF M'MANUS—TRIP TO THE EAST COAST—SEAMS OF COAL—'PARADISE'—DISCOVERY OF GOLD IN NEW SOUTH WALES—A MODERN ABSALOM—LAKE TIBERIAS—JOURNEY TO LAUNCESTON—CHANGE IN PUBLIC FEELING—OVATION ON RETURN TO HOBART TOWN—HONOURABLE MENTION OF VAN DIEMEN'S LAND IN THE GREAT EXHIBITION—MR. BECKER—A FOREIGNER'S DESCRIPTION OF AN ENGLISH ELECTION—POLITICAL PROSPECTS UNDER THE NEW LEGISLATURE—SMITH O'BRIEN MEDITATES A SECOND ESCAPE—DISCOVERY OF GOLD AT PORT PHILLIP, AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

To Mrs. Denison.

December 17, 1850.

My Dearest Mother,—O'Brien is tired out at last, and has taken his ticket of leave—having given his parole. A deputation of Irish convicts sent an address to him, asking him to accept the offer of the Government, and as he only wanted a reason for changing his mind, he at once made a merit of assenting to their request. He accordingly came up from Port Arthur a day or two ago, was met by a body of his admirers, and cheered to the inn. He has now gone up the country.

We have got up a show of the articles which we are going to send to the Industrial Exhibition, and we really muster a very respectable assortment. We shine most in ornamental woods, several kinds of which will be sent home. Our timber, too, is sure to be remarked for its length and scantling. Then we have a great variety of produce from Norfolk Island, such as Cayenne pepper,

arrow root, &c. and more manufactured articles from the country than you would imagine.

Your affectionate Son,

W. D.

Extracts from Journal.

February 1851.

Dearest M——,—I despatched a letter the day before yesterday, but I had not time or space then to tell you of a difficulty with which W—— and his Government are again threatened through the means of the judges. Really he is unlucky where judges are concerned: that last strife with them about Judge M——, the dog tax, &c. cost me, at least, no small anxiety, though W—— was always hopeful and cheerful about it; and so he is about this. I, too, think this is less likely to have any unpleasant consequences to himself than that was, though he says it may involve the Government in most awkward difficulties. The case is this: some of the Irish rebels, Smith O'Brien's companions, had behaved ill, and had in consequence been sentenced to three months' hard labour in Tasman's Peninsula, for which act of '*tyranny and despotism*' W—— had been very much abused in the colonial papers. That, to be sure, does not matter much; but one of the prisoners, M'Manus, has actually got some lawyer to take up his case, and to apply to the judges for a writ of Habeas Corpus which, as I understand it, is a writ summoning the Government to show cause why they have detained him on the Peninsula. The lawyers have set up the most extraordinary pleas on this occasion: first, that the Government has no right to subject any Irish convict to the same treatment to which the English convict has to submit; second, that the Home Government, the Queen herself, has no right to coerce, or compel to work, any convict here at all; in short, to do anything more than simply transport them, and let them be, out here,

entirely free agents. Of course this assumes that the whole system of Government in all the penal colonies (except Gibraltar and Bermuda, for which they say there is a special Act) has been illegal from the beginning; a pretty bold assumption, I think, on the part of one or two colonial lawyers, who have never been heard of beyond this island! One can hardly imagine the judges admitting such pleas for a moment; but they certainly have taken the first step towards it, for they have granted the writ of Habeas Corpus. It now remains to be seen whether the Law Officers of the Crown, the Attorney- and Solicitor-General, who are the legal spokesmen of the Government, will be able to make a satisfactory answer to these pleas, or such a one, at any rate, as will be satisfactory to the judges. If not, you see at once what a difficulty W—— is brought into; for it cannot be supposed that he is to abandon all control over the convicts, and turn them loose upon the island; (a pretty state the colony would be in if he did!) and yet, if he does not, he is keeping them under a restraint which the judges deny his legal right to do, and I suppose every vagabond who can get a lawyer to plead his cause, may be bringing an action against the Government for false imprisonment!! I hope I have made all this clear to you; but I am so entirely out of my depth in talking of legal matters and Habeas Corpus, that I think it is doubtful.

Tuesday, 11.—The prospect brightens! The Law Officers have actually found the missing Act which empowers the Government to treat the Irish convicts just like the English ones. Most extraordinary it seems to me, that they should not have known of its existence here before, or where to look for it; and I do not believe that it was they that found it, but the Deputy Comptroller-General of Convicts. However, it is well that it is found, for now there will remain no plea for M'Manus's lawyers, except that most extraordinary one of the Queen's not having

power to work or imprison convicts here at all; which I should think was hardly admissible. Moreover, I hear that the Chief Justice (may his shadow never be less!) expressed a very satisfactory opinion, even while granting the writ of Habeas Corpus; he said that he granted it in deference to the opinion of his colleagues, but that he himself saw no reason for doing so.

Wednesday, 12.—This week has been fixed upon for the Jubilee consequent upon the arrival of *the Bill*; [1] and to-day is the great day of all. Yesterday W—— and I rode to the Orphan School, and finished our visit there by proclaiming a holiday for to-day: an announcement which was received with many smiles, and followed by many cheers, and by an exclamation from a very small voice in the rear of the circle of boys, 'What! all day to-morrow?' as if that were an amount of happiness which his mind could hardly grasp. The town was very prettily illuminated yesterday evening, to the great delight of our children, who had never seen anything of the kind, and who were allowed to sit up rather later than usual to see it. To-day is a general holiday; but it will be anything but a holiday to W—— who, first of all, has had to be present at the firing of a *feu de joie*, &c. by the troops; and next, to go to a large dinner for six hundred persons, laid in a tent in the Domain. A deputation came to invite him, and he thought it would be both right and politic to go; but as the dinner was to be at two o'clock, and as it is a very hot day, and he was threatened with a headache before he went, I am afraid he will be fit for nothing but to go to bed when he comes home. I find that at this moment (three o'clock) the dinner is over at any rate, for there was to be a royal salute fired the moment the Queen's health was given after dinner, and that has been banging away while I have been writing this last sentence.

[1] The Bill granting representative institutions to the colony.

Friday, 14.—Well, dearest M——, the affair of Wednesday passed off superlatively well, and W——, wonderful to relate, came back having entirely got rid of his headache! and it has never returned upon him since. He was most particularly well received, cheered as he rode here and there among the crowd looking on at the festivities, again most enthusiastically when his health was drunk, and again on his departure; in short, there was a marked tone towards him throughout the day, and among all ranks, as if the tide of popularity was taking a turn in his favour. I think, too, that he must have spoken well: at least I gathered as much from the words, and still more from the manner of Mr. C——, who is always most anxious for his success on such occasions, and who came home looking quite elated. His, W——'s, principal speech was in proposing 'Success to Van Diemen's Land under its free institutions'; and I am told that what he said was straightforward, and to the purpose, and clothed in such plain language that all who heard (amongst whom there was of course a great mixture of ranks and classes) would enter into it, and go along with him in his meaning. I must say, the whole of the public rejoicings on this occasion have been most creditable to the colony. It was pleasant on Tuesday night, the night of the illumination, to see the crowds that walked about the streets, all so quiet, so remarkably orderly and well conducted: any lady might have walked through the town (some did, and took their children with them to see the illuminations,) without seeing or hearing the slightest thing that they could have wished children not to see or hear; and this in Hobart Town, which, if you remember, we were told before we came out here was such a place that no lady could even walk in it at all. On Wednesday it was the same: in all the speeches, &c. at the dinner there seemed a determination to avoid any subject, political or other, that could give the slightest opening for anything offensive.

February 21.—Dearest M——,— I am not, I think, in a fit state to write to you to-day, for I am in a tumult of evil passions; from which preamble you will pretty nearly guess what I have to tell, viz. that the M'Manus case has this morning been decided *against* the Government!! and that in an extraordinary way too, for the judges threw over the arguments of M'Manus's lawyer, and yet decided in his favour. The grounds on which they have ordered the discharge of M'Manus are, first, that they have no legal evidence that he was a transported offender at all! and secondly, whereas he is known to have been sentenced to death, they have no legal evidence that he was pardoned or let off that sentence, and subsequently transported. It really almost amounts to this, as Mr. Wilmot remarked, that they had no legal evidence that he was not hung!! Does not this sound as if law and common sense had really very little to do with each other? Joking apart, the Judges' decision is that some little legal form or other is wanting in the warrants under which these men have been sent out, and that therefore W—— has no legal power to restrain them, no power to prevent their going where they like, or leaving the island to-morrow, if they choose!! Now is not this an awkward state of things? and the tremendous feature in the business is that this applies not to the Irish rebels only, but to *every convict on the island*, except those who, having committed an offence here, have been sentenced by the authority of the colonial Government! All those who have been sent out from home since the very first day of the colony have been, it seems, sent out with the same defect (or what the judges and lawyers here call a defect) in the legal forms: any or all of them, therefore, may be claiming their freedom at any time, and resisting, even to the death, any constable or anybody else who should try to prevent their walking off; at least, the Law Officers say, that after this decision, any convict who should even murder

a constable who might attempt to prevent his escape, could not be punished for it, because his detention by that constable would be illegal!

February 27.—I have not been able to write for several days, so now for a history of what has been going on. In the first place, the decision of the judges is beginning to bear its bitter fruits, for O'Donohue, the other Irish rebel under sentence in the Penitentiary, has applied for a writ of Habeas Corpus, and the same lawyer who pleaded for M'Manus has taken up his cause; meantime W——, after much consideration and discussion of the matter with the Law Officers, has determined to send an order to M'Manus (who has gone off to Launceston) to deliver himself up at the prisoners' barracks there, in order that he may again be sent down to the penal station; and if, as seems most probable, he will not obey this order, directions have been sent to the police magistrate and the proper authorities there to take him up. I do not like this measure, for I am afraid that W—— may be incurring a great responsibility; and yet, in truth, the state of things seems so desperate, that one does not know what he can do better, for he cannot leave all his prisoners at large in this sort of way.

March 3.—I have heard an extraordinary piece of news to day, viz. that M'Manus has walked off altogether! He refused to obey the summons to deliver himself up at the prisoners' barracks at Launceston, and when constables were sent to apprehend him, he *was taken very ill,* pleaded his illness as rendering him unable to move, and *gave his parole* not to attempt to escape, if they would only leave him where he was, instead of taking him to the hospital. This was done accordingly, and when the doctors came to see him the next morning, he was gone! Does not this show what a mistake it was to treat these men so differently from ordinary convicts, and

how little worthy they are of the distinction, since their word of honour sits so lightly upon them? W—— has thought so from the beginning, and I rather question whether, under all the circumstances, he would have allowed M'Manus's house to have remained so entirely unwatched had he known of it.

To Mrs. Denison.

Hobart Town, March 12, 1851.

My dearest Mother,—Since I last wrote, I have been absent ten days on a trip to the east coast. Erskine could not take me in the 'Havannah,' but lent me his tender, the 'Bramble,' to take me round to the Schouten Islands and to a point to the northward of these islands, marked 'Douglas River' on the map, where it is intended to sink for coal, which will be shipped at a small harbour pretty close to the pits. A portion of my object was to inspect this harbour, and ascertain whether, in case of a gale from the eastward, shelter could not be procured by a short jetty or breakwater. The coast at this particular spot, and indeed all the way from the Schoutens, is composed of a coarse kind of granite, very easily decomposed; and the state of the rocks upon which the sea dashed bore evidence to the force of its occasional action. The whole of the coast line is rugged and bold, the outline of the hills being very marked; the colouring is better than we find elsewhere in Van Diemen's Land, the water retained in the fissures of the granite causing the green of the herbage to be more vivid than we see it elsewhere at this time of year. We had a very successful trip; rounded Cape Pillar in a gale from the southward, before which we scudded all night, and found ourselves in the morning at our destination. We landed, and walked to a farm-house at about a mile from the landing place, where I

got a horse and a guide to take me to the coal mines: I went down the shaft and inspected the workings, and then returned, killing two snakes in my way. I inspected the harbour, which was sufficient for the craft likely to use it, and embarking, set sail again at five o'clock. We had, however, to beat back to the Schoutens, and did not get into the passage between them and the mainland till the next evening; then we anchored pretty close to the shore, and I landed to inspect the works carrying on by another company.

The coal here is very peculiarly situated. I mentioned above, that the whole range of coast was granite; the opening of the mine was about a mile from the coast, and the seam of coal fines out to nothing as it abuts against the granite, but gradually thickens as it leaves it, till it gets to be about four feet in depth. This was worked for about a quarter of a mile, and the seam then apparently terminated against a mass of basalt. However, by sinking a shaft, in contact with the basalt, to the depth of thirty-six yards, the seam was hit upon again, passing under the basalt; the actual depression being about sixty or seventy feet, caused by an overlying mass of lava about two hundred yards in width, on the other side of which the workings were interrupted again, and coal was found at its original level. After inspecting the works we embarked, and set sail to stand over to Waterloo Point, at the head of Oyster Bay; but were driven down to the southward by a gale and thunderstorm. We made our way the next day up to Waterloo Point, where I took up my abode with a Mr. Meredith, a wealthy settler. Here we were very comfortable, and the officers of the 'Bramble' luxuriated in their short run on shore. We rode up the country to visit a Quaker settlement, where several families had congregated together: the land was more cultivated than any that I have yet seen in the country. I left Mr. Meredith after a

visit of three days, and rode down the coast about thirty-five miles to Spring Bay. Gardens and orchards seem to flourish on the coast, and cider is made to a great extent, supplanting, as in Devonshire, ale and beer among all classes of the population. I slept at the house of a settler at Spring Bay, and as there was no church at hand, I started early on Sunday morning to ride to a township called Buckland, where there was a church and a clergyman. My way to Buckland took me through 'Paradise!' which I found to be the valley of a river, evidently a torrent in rainy weather, for the bed was composed of heavy boulders; this bed I had to cross twenty times at least, and I never saw a more troublesome and tiresome road both for man and beast, and I cannot think it well named.

Your affectionate Son,
W. D.

To Mrs. W. H——.

Hobart Town, March 15, 1851.

Dearest S——,—We want your good man to lend a helping hand to the colony. William's object is to make known to the English mercantile world what magnificent timber there is in this country, and how well suited for ship-building purposes; and we thought that your William, through his connection with the E——s and L——s, would be able to get at several of the Liverpool merchants, and induce them to look at the specimens of timber which we have sent. We wished to get it home to the great Exhibition, where we hope to make some little figure in the ornamental wood and timber line; but at the time there was not a vessel in the harbour long enough to take the plank which had been sawn as a specimen.[1]

[1] The specimen of timber alluded to above was a plank originally 166 feet long, and two feet wide at the smallest end, which was sawn at the

Extracts from Journal.

Hobart Town, May 2, 1851.

Dearest ——,—I begin a letter this afternoon, because I do not like to pass many days together without continuing my journal. During the last three days, W—— and his Council have been quietly going through their business, without storm or opposition.

Monday, May 5.—I was rather premature in saying on Friday that W—— and his Council were getting on smoothly and quietly, for that very day, the placid state of things changed. Since then I have often thought of an expression of dear P——'s, in the last letter I ever received from him, in which he said, judging from what he had seen in Canada, that colonial legislators were 'a troublesome team to drive.' Never were truer words spoken, I think, at least as far as this colony is concerned; and, as a proof of it, I will tell you what they have done. On Friday, when they came to the second reading of the Electoral Bill, arranging the new constitution for the colony, according to the Act of Parliament, the party

convict establishment at Port Arthur. The following dimensions will give some idea of the size to which the Eucalypti grow in Van Diemen's Land.

Length to 1st branch	.	.	167 feet
„ 2nd „	.	.	181 „
„ 3rd and cluster of branches		.	215 „
Girth at 3 feet from the ground	.	.	29 „
„ 6 „ „	.	.	22 „
167 „ „	.	.	8 „
„ 181 „ „	.	.	7 feet 5 inches
„ 215 „ „	.	.	4 „ 2 „

Fifty feet in length of this monstrous plank were broken off in getting it out of the bush; but the remainder, 126 feet in length, was sent to Liverpool. I measured a log lying on the ground near Port Arthur, which was twenty-nine feet in circumference at twenty feet from the ground, where the log had been cut. This was fifty feet in length, and was lying close by the tree, as it had been felled: the timber was quite sound, and at the smallest extremity, seventy-five feet from the ground, the circumference was nineteen feet six inches. This was evidently a larger tree than the one out of which the plank was cut.

which has always systematically opposed the Government moved for the delay of the whole Bill. This, in itself, is rather amusing, when we know that two of these men took a prominent part in a public meeting, which was got up a month ago, for the purpose of *questioning*, and in fact, of censuring, W——'s conduct in delaying, as they said, so unnecessarily long, to bring the new Act into operation. Now, these very men are proposing further delay; which certainly looks as if they were determined to oppose the Government at any rate, even though they are obliged to contradict themselves in so doing. The majority of the Council voted for going on with the Bill; whereupon this amiable minority instantly took up their hats, and walked out; a step which had the effect of stopping the whole business for that day, because the Council cannot continue in session unless a certain number of members are present; and as one of those who usually support the Government was absent, one was wanted to make up a quorum. This, in fact, amounted to an attempt on the part of the minority to compel the majority to adopt their views. More than that, Mr. G——, one of the minority, came back afterwards and told W—— that he and the rest of his party were determined not to appear in Council at all, unless he consented to put off the second reading of the Bill. Happily, this device will not succeed, for the absent member is expected back to-day, so that there will probably be a sufficient number of Councillors present to carry on the business without this ill-conditioned minority. W—— looks upon this conduct as unfair and most unseemly; accordingly, he gave Mr. G—— 'a bit of his mind' on the subject during their conversation on Friday evening, and since then he has written to him and to the other members of his party, what seems to me a wise and temperate letter, telling them, as, in fact, he told Mr. G——, that he was quite willing to postpone any

particular clause of the Bill, which was thought by the members of Council to require further consideration, but that he would not delay the whole Bill, which had been acknowledged to be necessary; and giving, at the same time, though in temperate language, his opinion of their conduct in attempting to coerce the majority of the Council, and deserting their duties as Councillors the moment they found their own views successfully opposed. I have not done justice to his letter, but this is something near the general purport of it.

Tuesday, 6.—The refractory members yielded to W——'s letter so far as to appear again in Council, and pass the second reading of the Electoral Bill; but no sooner was it proposed to go into committee upon it, than objections and propositions for delay began again. It was in vain that W—— proposed to proceed with the simple parts of the Bill, and only to postpone those clauses which required further consideration. Nothing would satisfy them but an adjournment; and W—— assented to it, because though he can, in the present Council, nearly always command a majority by means of the official members, he does not wish, unless when absolutely necessary, to push a question on by force, against the wish of the non-official members: accordingly the Council stands adjourned till Monday the 19th.

To Earl Grey.

June 14, 1851.

My dear Lord,—From the tone of your confidential despatch, and from that of a letter which I received from Colonel Jebb, I feel that the reports from Australia, as to the progress of the anti-transportation movement, have to a certain extent created alarm lest the result of the movement should show itself in some decided step, such as was allowed at the Cape, and the convicts should be prevented from landing. I have written to your Lord-

ship in a public despatch upon the subject, but as I shall not probably have an opportunity of forwarding this document for some time, I take advantage of a vessel sailing to Batavia, and send you a few lines, in order to assure you that all the reports of the progress of the Australian League against transportation are gross exaggerations. Here, in Van Diemen's Land, I can testify to the fact that not only has no opposition been made to the landing of the convicts, but a most marked anxiety has been shown to benefit by their services. The demand for labour is greater than I have ever known it at this time of year, and there is every appearance of a continuance and extension of this demand: out of a hundred and twenty-three men available for hire, ninety were engaged the first day.

Your Lordship will have probably heard, ere this can reach you, of the discovery of a gold field in New South Wales. Thousands are flocking to the diggings, and there seems every reason to dread a most injurious extension of the Californian mania, exaggerated, as regards ourselves, by its proximity. Shepherds are leaving their flocks in New South Wales; ships are laid up in Sydney harbour, as the sailors leave them and go to the diggings, and the price of every article has risen enormously. Here we are protected from the evil to a certain extent by the presence of the convicts, a class who cannot leave the colony; but should a sudden change in the policy of the Government put a stop to transportation, we shall feel it most deeply in the ruin of most of the landed proprietors, who form now the basis of a sound and healthy population.

New South Wales, too, is as much interested as we are in the maintenance of the system, for unless she can procure the necessaries of life from us, the population must be reduced to great distress from actual want of food. I will not attempt to speculate upon the result of this gold-

finding in New South Wales; the news is too recent to furnish any data; but under all circumstances, I trust that you will allow me to express a hope that no hasty step will be taken as regards transportation. I feel certain that the change of circumstances in New South Wales, and the pressure on the labour market there, together with the stimulus which the rise in price of agricultural produce will create here, will do much to neutralise the effects of the League; indeed, several have already expressed their sorrow at having joined it, and many of the more unscrupulous have seceded from it. The convict system is working well at present in every way, and I hope it will be allowed a fair trial. I write in haste, as the vessel is about to sail, but I could not allow the opportunity to escape of laying the true state of things before your Lordship.

I remain, yours very truly,

W. D.

To Mrs. Denison.

Hobart Town, July 9, 1851.

My dearest Mother,—We are all very well, and I have at last passed my Electoral Bill, and shall get it fully into operation by November. I made a farewell speech to the present Council in dissolving it, praising and thanking those members who had attended regularly and done their duty as they ought, leaving the others to draw the inference, if they thought fit, that I did not think they had deserved any praise. People here are watching with greedy eyes for the first indications of a gold field. I, however, give no encouragement to the gold seekers. I dislike these short cuts to wealth, which, like most other short cuts, lead generally into difficulty and danger, though some few occasionally make their way by them. Even to those who have been successful, the moral effect of wealth easily acquired is and must be hurtful. One

great difficulty I have to encounter arises out of the deficiency of properly qualified people to carry out the various works required. I am obliged, therefore, to be director of public works, as well as Lieut.-Governor; and the result is that plans lack the benefit of the action of several minds upon them, and the execution fails for want of efficient superintendence. I very much wish to carry out my views on the subject of education; to withdraw it from the control of the Government, and to place it in the hands of local bodies, subject of course to certain legal restrictions.

People who talk about the benefits of education are too apt to look for immediate results. The action of education upon a given individual may show itself pretty soon, but a generation or two must pass away before we can hope to produce any great and general effect upon the mass of the community. This, however, instead of being a reason against working, is, or rather ought to be, an inducement to commence action as soon as possible.

Your affectionate Son,

W. D.

Extract from Journal.

July 10, 1851.

My dear ——,—The 'Calliope' anchored this morning, and about two o'clock in came our old Plymouth acquaintance, Sir Everard Home, and brought me your letters from Rio. This was, indeed, one of those feasts of news which are, as the Bible says, 'like cold water to a thirsty soul.' Such joy to hear that you were all well down to March 22, and that you were so far on your way home.

I am amused at the cause of the 'Calliope's' coming here, as explained in a private letter which she brought from Lord Grey. His Lordship says that he cannot but feel so uneasy at the accounts he has heard of the strong feeling existing in the Colonies against transportation, and

the league which has been formed to resist the reception of convicts, that he requested the 'Calliope' might call in here, *in case William should require the support of a man of war!!* Poor man, I suppose the example of the Cape has frightened him; for this really looks as if he thought we were reduced to such extremities as to be enforcing obedience at the cannon's mouth, or perhaps that the 'Calliope' might have been useful as a place of refuge for us, in case W—— had finally succumbed to a set of triumphantly rebellious colonists. Instead of this, could he only take a peep at us, he would see everything going on peaceably; a noisy party indeed, *talking*, and *eating* public dinners, but *doing* nothing in the way of opposition.

July 14.—We are just returned from New Norfolk, where W—— and I have been since Friday. W—— was to hunt on Saturday, and Mr. Sharland wrote to ask me to accompany him, which I was very glad to do. Being mindful of the request we had, to be kind to young P—— a midshipman in the 'Calliope,' we got leave for him, and took him with us. Mr. Sharland lent him a horse, and I hope he has enjoyed himself. In point of sport the day was bad, for they hunted a country which was so full of thick scrub or underwood, that they lost sight of kangaroo and hounds almost immediately. Young P—— was very nearly hanged in the course of the business; for in riding through the scrub his neckhandkerchief got caught in a bough: happily, his horse was more manageable than Absalom's mule under similar circumstances, or the consequences might have been serious: as it was, after struggling with his difficulties for a minute or two, he succeeded in tearing himself free, leaving his handkerchief dangling in the tree, and followed the hounds without further damage or loss; so at any rate, he had a holiday and a ride, which, I suppose, is always happiness to a midshipman.

July 19.— W—— left us the day before yesterday on a long tour to the northern part of the island. I had a letter from him this morning dated from Oatlands, his last night's stopping place. He gives me an amusing account of his visit yesterday to 'Lake Tiberias,' for as he is travelling on horseback, he is able to digress to visit anything which he wants to see, or which the settlers wish he should look at, for they are often glad to get an engineering opinion from him respecting the capabilities of different localities, and such matters, in which they know his experience will make his opinions worth having. 'Lake Tiberias,' he says, is a field of rushes about five miles in length, with no water to be seen except a shallow strip round the edge of the field; so shallow, and the supply of water so scant, that he does not think that anything can be done with it by damming it up. I am unusually at leisure this morning, for Mrs. Nixon sent yesterday to ask our four older children to join them and theirs in a boating expedition. Certainly it does not seem to me quite the time of year for such schemes; however, the mildness of this climate is such, that the plan is not anything like what a similar one on the 19th of January in England would be, and as the day is glorious, still, and warm, I have let them go.

July 22.—Another letter from W—— this morning, giving a very satisfactory account of his proceedings generally, and a laughable one of his visit to old Mr. —— who has set up as a strong anti-transportationist and opponent of Government; and whose astonishment, therefore, at William's calling upon him was perfectly ludicrous. They have always been on friendly terms, but the old man did not seem to conceive the possibility of William's keeping up any intercourse with him as a private individual, when he had so strongly opposed him politically.

July 31.—William's letters continue to be very satis-

factory, and to me very amusing, from his account of the different feelings displayed by those individuals who have been opposed to him politically, and some of whom are most comically astonished at his shaking hands with them, or showing them any little civility. On the whole, however, his progress has been most prosperous; he has been well received everywhere, and even appears to have created a reaction in his favour in the minds of some who had been prejudiced against him by newspaper statements.

August 1.—I have had a great disappointment this morning in a letter from W——, telling me that he would not be back till the 23rd, instead of the 16th. Still, I think, under all the circumstances he is right to stay; for the fact is, that such an extraordinary fury of loyalty has possessed Launceston and Campbell Town (usually the stronghold of opposition) that W—— is overwhelmed with their civilities; and deputations come to invite him to public dinners, and such numbers of people want to see him, that he cannot comply with all their wishes without remaining a week longer.

His entry into Launceston yesterday was like a triumphal procession; numbers of people came out on the road to meet him; and he rode into the town with a train that kept increasing at every step. Mr. Wilmot, who is with him, writes to Mr. Clarke, that there never has been anything seen like the enthusiasm with which he has been received. I suspect the cause to be partly that he has lately done a good deal for the improvement of Launceston and its neighbourhood, has extended their wharves, built their markets, and is in process of draining their swamp; and partly that this late discovery of gold in New South Wales, and the possibility that it may draw off many of the free labourers from this colony, has a little opened their eyes to the impolicy of trying to stop the introduction of convicts, who may be, for a

time, nearly the only labourers they will have left to depend on, certainly the only ones whom they can feel sure of retaining; and thus they begin to see that W——, who has been abused as the enemy of the colony because he would not join in the anti-transportation cry, has really been its friend in advocating a more gradual change, instead of the sudden one which the hot-headed anti-transportation party have been clamouring for.

August 7.—Dearest——,—I have little to record except the continual delightful accounts I receive from W—— and hear indirectly from Mr. Wilmot (who is with him), and through newspapers and from other sources, of his really triumphant progress through the country. I am almost at a loss to understand what can have caused the extraordinary change of feeling which has manifested itself. The great majority of the country settlers, many of whom were prejudiced against him before, are now rallying round him, several of them openly saying that they find him to be a very different man from what they had imagined him to be. Of course, this change, being as it is *apparently* sudden, *may* not be lasting; but I think that it is not really so sudden as it appears. I believe an under-current has been for some time setting in in William's favour, as people's eyes have opened to the good he has really been doing. He, good man, gives rather a prosaic reason for it all; for he says in his last letter to me, 'Prosperity is in fact a great softener of the heart; the fact of wheat being at ten shillings per bushel is a great encourager of loyalty!' However, you may be sure that he in sober earnest looks higher than to this as the source of the present, as of every comfort and enjoyment; and accordingly I have a charming letter from him this morning, written on Tuesday night, when he had retired to his room after the fatigues and excitement of a *monster* dinner given to him by the inhabitants of Launceston; that is to say, by all the principal inhabit-

ants, official, agricultural, and commercial, not only of Launceston but of the surrounding country. They sat down 112 to dinner, and the reception my good man met with was enthusiastic; his speeches, too, seem to have been good and very well received. Altogether the results of the day gratified him much; and in writing to me at its close, he says, 'I have thanked God for His kindness in enabling me to do what I have done, to say what I have said. How easy it is to be thankful with a joyous heart! God grant that when evil times come, or when pain and sorrow take possession of me, I may be found equally sensible of and thankful for God's goodness.' Perhaps some people might consider this joy and thankfulness greater than was called for by so comparatively small a blessing as popularity; but you will not think so; indeed, nobody who had seen how much William has had to bear of misrepresentation and abuse, and the obstacles thrown in his way, whether wilfully or not, by those with whom he has had to deal, could help feeling that the present state of things does indeed call for gratitude. I too rejoice, and am thankful, more especially because I feel that prosperity and gratification so received will never be hurtful to him or anyone.

12*th*.—I hear that the people of this town are preparing a great demonstration to welcome W—— on his return home on Saturday week. Multitudes talk of going out to meet him; it is said that all the cabs in the town are engaged for this purpose already, and triumphal arches are to be erected at intervals across the road from O'Brien's Bridge to the town, a distance of upwards of three miles.

Tuesday, 19.—Who would have thought, some time ago, that we should ever be put to any inconveniences here on account of William's popularity? But really something like it seems about to take place now, for so many are anxious to join the procession to meet him on his return,

who yet cannot do so on Saturday, that a wish has been expressed that he should put off his arrival till Monday, in order that the mass of his well-wishers may be better able to do him honour. Whether he will do this or not, I do not yet know, but I have been magnanimous enough to write to him and rather recommend it. It goes sorely against me to have him away two days longer, and one of them a Sunday, but I think, perhaps, it might be wise to yield to the wishes of the people; and besides, if the demonstration in honour of him should be a failure, in consequence of Saturday being an inconvenient day to so many, it would give a handle to those still opposed to him which they would not fail to use.

Tuesday, 26.—Dearest M——,—I have spent the last two or three days rather in a state of excitement, and therefore thought I would put off writing till all was quiet again, and till I could give you an account of the ovation on William's arrival. Monday morning came at last, and even the weather, which had looked threatening on Saturday and doubtful on Sunday, brightened into as fine a day as we could wish; and as I stood at my window in the morning, watching the ships in harbour decorating themselves with flags for the occasion, and was summoned thence by little Lucy with an earnest request that I would come to *her* room, which looks to the street, to see the triumphal arch in its finished state, I could not help feeling that the day was, indeed, commencing most auspiciously. I kept myself as quiet as my own and the children's excited spirits would permit, all the morning: but at two o'clock my share in the day's work began; for the Government officers, upon mature deliberation, had decided on not joining the procession; they thought that their doing so would give it too official an air, and that therefore it was better to leave it entirely to the town's people; but they determined that they, in a body, would meet W—— in the verandah of his own house; and as I heard that

many of their wives were very anxious to come there too, and hear the address of the inhabitants and W——'s answer, I had nothing for it but to throw open the verandah and lower front rooms, and declare myself 'glad to see' any who liked to come. Accordingly, about two o'clock they began to arrive, for the streets were already becoming so crowded, that the ladies were anxious to get here in good time, to avoid the crush.

It was made a complete holiday: the shops were shut, every house almost decorated with flags or some complimentary device; crowds 'dressed in their best' were parading the streets, the church bells were beginning to ring, and windows, and even housetops, were occupied by groups of spectators. Vehicles of all kinds, from two or three stage coaches and *six*, hired for the occasion by different parties, down to the commonplace cab, were conveying the townspeople to the appointed place where they were to meet W——, and form a procession to escort him in. The Committee of Merchants, who had taken upon themselves the direction of the whole affair, had already gone out on horseback for this purpose. At length, those who had sharp eyes descried the procession appearing at the head of the long street up which the front of our house looks. My blind eyes could not distinguish anybody amongst the crowd for some little time after, but it was a moment of great happiness when I could first distinguish the plumes of my good man's cocked hat flickering up and down as he kept bowing from side to side in acknowledgment of the continuous cheers which greeted his appearance. In a few minutes more, the cavalcade came pouring in; I was out on the verandah by this time with the official visitors, and when all the Committee followed W——, we were pretty well crowded.

Dr. Bedford, a medical man, who was one of the Committee, then proceeded to read the Address of the inhabit-

ants, prefacing it by a long laudatory speech of his own, which was well delivered, and generally admired evidently. The written address, which he next read, was short, simple, and in good taste, I thought, and William's reply was in the same style. As soon as he had finished speaking, the cheers recommenced; and when these died away, there was a call for me, originating, I think, among the Committee; and I had to step forward a little to William's side, and be cheered, and make my bow in acknowledgment, and then W—— thanked them again for the compliment to me, and wished them good evening, and straightway we both retired into the house. The crowd then took the hint and dispersed; but not till the above-mentioned coaches and six had driven one after the other past the house, in at the upper gate and out at the lower, each stopping at the door while the passengers, inside and out, gave a cheer.

Neither W—— nor I saw this part of the business, for, as I said before, we had taken the earliest opportunity of retreating into a quieter part of the house, and he was soon amongst the younger children, who were beginning to get desperate at his non-appearance. You may imagine our happy evening afterwards, tired as we all were after the excitements of the day; but delighted to be together again, pleased and thankful for what seems to be the establishment of a cordial feeling between William and the people, which is peculiarly to be desired now, when he is on the eve of starting with the new form of Government, the Representative Assembly.

August 30.—An emigrant ship came in a few days ago, bringing few letters, but several newspapers, and these very interesting ones, giving the account of the opening of the Great Exhibition. I have been looking very eagerly through them to see what was said about Van Diemen's Land. I was quite aware, from what I had previously seen, that this colony had sent almost more things there

than any other; certainly far more than any except Canada and India, which really can hardly be called single colonies, but I was anxious that the fact should be noticed, and to a certain extent it is so. One or two of the papers compare us flatteringly with the other Australian colonies, and I am delighted to see that Lord Grey noticed this in a speech in the House of Lords; and said that Van Diemen's Land had sent more to the Exhibition, in proportion to her size and population, than any other British colony. I am mightily pleased at this, partly because I am very anxious for the honour and credit of this colony, but chiefly because I think it is in great measure owing to William that we have succeeded so well. It was he who first stimulated people here to form a local committee for the purpose, and he himself has been the largest exhibitor.

Saturday, September 27.—A house full of guests is a great hindrance to letter-writing; two of our guests left us on Tuesday, but two more came on Wednesday, and on Thursday there came also a Mr. Becker, a German artist, who is travelling in this country, and paying his way by taking likenesses,—miniatures, which he does very nicely indeed. William met him when he was up the country some weeks ago, and was much pleased with him; and asked him down here. He is a most amusing person, talks English badly, but very energetically. I have sometimes great difficulty in keeping my countenance when I see him struggling between the rapidity of his ideas and the difficulty of giving them utterance, repeating to himself, in a very audible soliloquy, the German words he wishes to translate into English, and helping all out with an abundance of most expressive gesticulation; but I would not for the world let him see me laugh, poor man, for he is rather shy and sensitive; but with all that he is very pleasing. He is one of those universal geniuses who can do anything; is a very good naturalist, geologist,

&c., draws and plays and sings, conjures and ventriloquises, and imitates the notes of birds so accurately that the wild birds will come to him at the sound of the call. He is very fond of children, amuses and astonishes ours to a great extent by his conjuring tricks and ventriloquism, and, being very odd-looking besides, with a large red beard, little C——stares at him with comical astonishment.[1]

October 21.—This has been an exciting day to Hobart Town; the day of nomination of the candidates for the new Elective Council, and I have been laughing myself almost into hysterics at Mr. Becker's account of it. He had, as he said, 'never seen English election before,' so Mr. Clarke and Mr. Wilmot took him off this morning, somewhere near the hustings, to see the goings on; and the account he has just been giving to me, in his broken English, is worth anything. 'It was very funny,' he said, 'I could not understand one word, only the groans and the applause;' and then he proceeded to show us (helping out his narrative with most expressive gesticulation) how 'one man spoke a dozen words,' and 'then one man groaned, another cried, Bravo!' and then there were boys '*clappering*' with sticks, and 'what you call *cricket* things;' *bats* I believe he meant. The election for this district is over; there was only one candidate, but there is a contest for the town; so we shall have to go through a polling day.

To Colonel Harness, R.E.

Hobart Town, October 27, 1851.

My dear Harness,—I can quite appreciate the difficulty and the unpleasant nature of the undertaking in which you are engaged. To cleanse an old office, and to get rid of

[1] The career of this unfortunate artist terminated very sadly. He was one of those who perished in Messrs. Burke and Wills' exploring expedition into the interior of Australia.

the jobbing and trickery which has been the produce of years, is a task for Hercules: it can only be done effectually when the reformer is all-powerful himself, or when he is thoroughly backed up by the head of the Government. Now to expect either of these requires much faith, more indeed than is reasonable; and I am afraid, therefore, that you will be obliged to content yourself with half measures, and that even this partial reform will bring upon you much odium. I do not on that account bid you stay your hand, God forbid. I bid you go on honestly and steadily, doing your utmost to press upon the Government the essential character of the reforms you wish to introduce, and caring nothing for the clamour raised by those who consider that they have a vested interest in the abuses which they connive at. I would advise you, however, to record upon paper the whole extent of your views. Do not allow them to be cut down or carved away bit by bit; if you are not to carry them out as a whole, let the blame rest upon those who have not allowed the reform to be effectual.

Now, as to myself; I have been working steadily against a current here for upwards of four years, and have had the pleasure of seeing myself gradually making way. I do not anticipate much trouble with the new Legislative Assembly, but it is very difficult to calculate on the course of a legislative body. My object is to carry out the principle of self-Government to the fullest extent; to introduce the municipal system everywhere where it can work effectively. It is, I believe, quite true that I could do the work much better myself than these municipal bodies will be able to manage; but it is not merely the work that is to be looked to, but the cultivation of habits of consideration and self-confidence; to generate a power of discriminating and judging as to matters in which the public are interested. A failure in a scheme is a good lesson both to engineers and legislators; and a man who

has once tried to work with other men will, after a time, by his own failures, be more chary in judging of the conduct of the Government.

I will send you copies of my education and other Bills. I am thinking of trying to deal with a more difficult question, that of Church Government, by bringing in a bill empowering each religious community to elect representatives, and constitute a governing body, to which body the task of framing rules and laws for the government of the church or community will be given over. This may perhaps be demurred to, as going too far; but I have a feeling that when this is once done, the effect will be to promote union between the churches, who will see how trifling the differences are which separate them, and who will be disposed to pass over these for the sake of that unity which is so essential—an unity of principle, not of opinion. I have filled my paper, so good-bye.

Yours very truly,
W. D.

To Miss H——.

November 10, 1851.

Dearest M——, —The elections for the new Legislative Council are, with one exception, over, and the anti-transportation party have of course a large majority, but their tone is wonderfully tamed down from what it was before I made my progress through the country. Previous to that, the opposition fancied that they might carry everything in their own way; now, however, they find that there is a strong body of settlers, who, if they are averse to transportation, are at all events well satisfied with me, and who would be quite willing to let me carry out my views, which, in all probability, when developed, will be found to be more truly liberal than those of the most ultra opponents of Government. I only hope that my representatives in the Council, the Government officers,

will take the proper tone,—that of conceding all that ought to be given up gracefully, without attempting to make a favour of it, and maintaining, tooth and nail, the proper distinction between the functions of the Legislative and that of the Executive. However, we shall soon see of what stuff they are made. My work will be to supply the Government members with all such facts as may be useful to them upon any given motion, to keep them up to their collars by advice, and occasionally something more than advice. There is a feeling prevailing here, both among the settlers and the officers of Government, that the interests of the Government and those of the settlers are directly opposed to each other. It will be a difficult matter to eradicate this feeling, which is a most dangerous one; it renders the Government officers desirous of keeping back information, under the idea that it may be used against them; it renders the settlers suspicious that more is done under the cloak of official secresy than could be openly justified. I propose to be quite open with my Council. I shall point out to them all that they can do, give them all the information in my possession with relation to this, and my advice as to the mode of doing it: if they will take this advice, well; if not, they must go without the advantage which would result from this harmony of action.

I had a long and kind letter from Sir John Burgoyne a few weeks ago, and have written a lengthy epistle in return. He encourages me to continue in the course I have chalked out for myself, and which I have found to be successful, I mean a steady perseverance in working forward to a given object. He warns me never to be daunted by opposition, but to set my face like a flint, and to be utterly regardless of all the abuse which may be lavished upon me. Nothing can have answered better than this, which is the course I have pursued. I was abused most savagely at first; but by degrees, as the

people saw their roads and streets improving, their wharves and docks in course of construction, while, at the same time, their debts were being paid off, they began to have confidence in me, and to believe that I was, at all events, working usefully for them. With my new Council I expect to have a battle, but as I am bringing forward measures of a very liberal character, and as I propose to take the initiative in all the reforms which may fairly be considered necessary, the chances are that their opposition will be paralysed. However, enough of these local politics, which, though they of course occupy my mind a good deal, do not do so at all hurtfully.

L—— has, I dare say, told you that we have got a German artist in the house. Becker, for that is his name, is a most amusing companion. He and I consort very well together, for he is a dabbler in all those sciences with which I am, to a certain extent, conversant, so that we meet upon common ground. He is writing home to his friends in Germany a very satisfactory account of this country, which he will have reprinted in England; so that, by degrees, a more accurate knowledge of the facts which relate to the condition of society here will be gained. I have asked Lord Grey to send out a Government Commissioner to report on the state of things in all these colonies; by this, authoritative information would be gained, whereas now, you at home are obliged to balance the credit due to different classes of information.

Yours affectionately,

W. D.

Extract from Journal.

December 26.—I wish I could give you an idea of the extraordinary state these Colonies are in, in consequence of the astounding discoveries of gold at Port Phillip. California seems a mere nothing to it. The gold is to be

picked up in *abundance* close to the surface of the ground; it is sometimes even seen glittering amongst the grass. Those who left this place a few weeks ago to try their fortunes, are already in possession of seven, eight, nine, or eleven hundred pounds; and in Melbourne, people are so reckless of their money, that a man goes into a shop, buys something which is perhaps worth thirty shillings, throws down a five pound note, and refuses to take his change! Gold is so plentiful that they do not care how they throw away their money. The account of the state of things there is perfectly dreadful, and I confess I think there is quite enough to make one feel a little uneasy as to what will come of it. At Port Phillip they have offered ten, and, I believe, twenty shillings *a day* to labourers to reap the harvest, and cannot get it done at that price. Mr. Latrobe, the Governor there, wrote over to W—— the other day a letter which, in its distressed tone, really almost rivals 'the groans of the Britons;' and the burden of it is to implore W—— to send him some soldiers, pensioners, anybody, who can act as police; all their own police having left them to go to the diggings. Mr. Latrobe seems to think there will be some serious outbreaks and disturbances shortly.

Here, we are of course far better off than this, inasmuch as gold has not yet been found in this colony, I am thankful to say, and there is a very efficient police; while there are prisoners to reap at least a part of the harvest; but, even here, there are not enough of them to do all the work, and we hear that one or two settlers have actually turned in their horses and cattle to eat down their ripening crop of wheat, from the impossibility of getting it reaped. The tradespeople in the town can hardly carry on the war at all, and some of the best of them are threatening to close their shops, from the impossibility of getting men. The very vessel which is

to take this letter is now lying down the river, as far as possible from shore, and with a policeman or two on board to keep the men from deserting. The whalers cannot get together a boat's crew to contend for the prize at the Regatta; all the world, in short, is going to the diggings. I am in daily fear of hearing our own men-servants give warning, in order to go. Altogether the state of things is really very serious; but some good will come out of it at last, as good always does in some way.

CHAPTER VI.

OPENING OF THE FIRST REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY—REGATTA—ESCAPE OF MEAGHER OF THE SWORD—EMIGRATION TO PORT PHILLIP, AND CURIOUS RESULTS—SINGULAR VARIETY OF VICE-REGAL LIFE IN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE AUCKLAND ISLANDS—MODE OF ASCERTAINING VALUE OF GOLD DUST — DIGGERS' PURCHASES — THEIR RECKLESS EXPENDITURE — THE COLONIAL SECRETARY CHANGES SIDES — ACCIDENT TO BRIDGE AT PERTH—LOCHINVAR A DELUSION—DRAINAGE OF LAUNCESTON SWAMP—REGATTA AT KANGAROO POINT—VISITS ON THE NORTH SIDE OF THE ISLAND—RUNAWAY HORSES—COLONIAL HOSPITALITY—COUNCIL TACTICS—INCAUTIOUS PLEDGE AND CONSEQUENT DIFFICULTIES—DAIRY FARMS—RACES—QUEEN'S PLATE — THE HOME GOVERNMENT DECIDES ON THE CESSATION OF TRANSPORTATION—ÉMEUTE AMONG THE DIGGERS AT PORT PHILLIP, AND DEMAND FOR TROOPS FROM HOBART TOWN—LETTER ON EDUCATION—TABLE TURNING—ENFORCED REDUCTION OF HOSPITALITIES —RUMOURS OF AN APPROACHING MOVE.

Extracts from Journal.

January 2, 1852.

DEAREST ——,—Now that I have got rid of that immense business of providing for my Christmas tree, I will begin my letter to you, in the first place wishing you all many happy new years. Tuesday was the day fixed for the members of the new Council to meet and choose their Speaker, after which they were all to dine here, at least they were all asked; but two or three of them were far too grand in their patriotism to come, for which act of discourtesy the papers have been abusing them; so they will have the satisfaction of finding that they had better have behaved more civilly, as far as their popularity was concerned. Yesterday (Thursday, New Year's Day) was the great day of interest to me, for it was the day fixed for William to open the Session of Council in form, and read his address; and I was much interested in watching

the little indications of general and particular feeling on the occasion. I thought there was something both in the tone of the newspapers, and in the behaviour of some of the members on Tuesday, the day they had met and dined here, which showed a better spirit than I had anticipated. The elected Speaker, Mr. Dry, hearing that I wished to be present at the formal opening of the Council, placed at my disposal a great space in the body of the house for any ladies I might like to bring with me. This enabled me to invite a great number of ladies to accompany me, which many were glad to do; two o'clock was the time appointed for the opening of the Council; and about a quarter before two we ladies all betook ourselves to the scene of action. Down came the Speaker to meet me on my arrival, and hand me to a chair that he had reserved for me in an excellent place for seeing and hearing, almost close to William, and facing the members and spectators. A few minutes before two, the guns announced William's approach, and punctually at the hour he walked in; was received with the proper formalities, and seated himself. One rather laughable thing occurred at this stage of the proceedings; as soon as William was seated, the Speaker announced that it was His Excellency's command that the members should resume their seats. Now it happened that the House was so crowded with spectators, amongst whom were an immense number of ladies, that the members had given up their seats to them; so that when the order was given, not a single member had a seat to resume.

My good man read his speech remarkably well. I had never heard him read an address in public before; and I felt a little anxious lest he should be nervous before this unusually large assembly, and on this unusually exciting occasion; but W—— read as if he was utterly unconscious of the existence of nerves, composedly and distinctly.

In this small community, where everybody knows everybody, I had the advantage of knowing nearly all the members by sight; and I took many a glance down the rank of the oppositionists, with an anxious desire to know what they thought of it; but one cannot gain much from people's countenances on such an occasion.

For anything further I must wait the result of the debate on the answer to the address, which has, I believe, been going on to-day. At any rate, W—— was listened to with very great attention, both by members and spectators; I was pleased with the quiet orderliness of these last, and of the whole scene. When the address was finished, and a copy of it had been requested by the Speaker, and handed to him, William exchanged bows with the Speaker and members, and walked out, attended by them as on his entrance; and presently afterwards, we ladies also returned to our respective homes, I to give the finishing strokes to the arrangements for the Christmas tree and children's ball in the evening. This affair went off, as usual, with great success. Our German friend, Mr. Becker, was a host in himself on the occasion; he lighted and decorated the Christmas tree in the true German style, and made it look extremely pretty; then he performed sundry conjuring tricks for the amusement of the younger party who assembled first, and altogether he made himself of the greatest possible use.

Thursday, 9.—My letter does not prosper. We are hardly yet out of the bustle which has characterised the last two weeks. Last Monday, for example, was the day fixed for the long postponed regatta, so no writing could be done on that day. The chief interest of the day lay in the contest for the great prize which W—— had proposed last year for whalers of all nations. He thought it might be an additional means of attracting whalers here; and he seems to me never to lose any opening for making known the resources of the colony, or increasing its traffic. The

gold, however, at Port Phillip rather interfered with our great race, as with everything else; for the whalers found great difficulty in keeping their crews together. However, there was a pretty good muster of whalers' boats to contend for the prize: some English (that is to say, belonging to these colonies), some French, and some Americans. Their start was beautiful, and the pulling throughout remarkably good and quick; and I am sure it will gratify L—— to know that not only the winning boat, but the second and third boats also, were English; then came in one of the French ones, but the Americans were, in racing language, nowhere.

January 10.—Those most troublesome of prisoners, the 'Irish rebels,' are beginning to distinguish themselves again. 'Meagher of the Sword,' as he used to be called in Ireland, has made his escape! He was, like the others, indulged with a ticket of leave, on his parole not to escape, according to the orders of the Home Government, but he is off notwithstanding. He went through the form, it is true, of writing to the authorities to say that he resigned his ticket of leave, and withdrew his parole; but he took care to be off before this intimation could reach them, or at any rate, before they could possibly take any steps in consequence. Now of course as a ticket-of-leave holder, he was bound to come in and resign his ticket to the magistrate, and as a man, he has just as completely broken his word as if he had never gone through the form of writing to the authorities at all; for he must clearly have taken advantage of the liberty allowed him on parole to make all the necessary preparations for his flight, and then to start before they could possibly take any steps to stop him. But the idea of 'honour' entertained by these Irish rebels, seems to me rather a strange one; and perhaps the Government at home will find out now that they made altogether a mistake in treating them like honourable men, as prisoners

of war, rather than as convicted felons. However, there seems some reason to hope that Meagher has not yet succeeded in leaving the island, so he may be recaptured, 'in which case,' says W——, 'I will send him to Port Arthur, and make him "bottom sawyer" under a very good "top one."'

To Mrs. Denison.

Hobart Town, January 20, 1852.

My dearest Mother,—The emigration from this colony to Victoria continues to increase, but it will not attain its maximum until about March. The dry season in Victoria has, by reducing the amount of water in the streams and gullies, put a stop in many places to the operations of the gold washers, and has in addition induced such an amount of disease among them as to cause many to leave the ground. About March the autumn rains may be expected, the weather will become cooler, and the whole working population will flock away to the gold-hunting to an extent which will leave us dependent very much upon our prisoners. I hear daily of instances of men who, having left this a few weeks ago, have returned with a quantity of gold varying in value from 100*l.* to 700*l.*; now one cannot wonder that, with such a prospect before their eyes, everyone who can wield a pickaxe should rush off to secure such a golden harvest. I went on Sunday last to visit two old pensioners of mine, the man being ninety-four years of age, and the woman upwards of eighty; I found them both full of wonder at the luck of one of their neighbours who had come back with a gold watch, and a gold chain round his neck; and the man of ninety-four had almost made up his mind to start with a party! I tried to dissuade him, pointing out to him that the gold could be of no use to him in his old age, that he had a house of his own, and the means of living in comfort; but I did not produce much effect; even the old

woman, who outwardly appeared to deprecate the idea of being left alone, was, I could see, sorely tempted with the vision of the gold watch and chain, and of having money to leave at her death. The worst feature of all this gold mania is the total alteration which it has made in all the relations of society; there is no longer the division of rich and poor; the gold has done away with the difference; the man who works in the garden or cleans shoes, goes away for a few weeks, and comes back more wealthy than his former master. In many instances, of course, he verifies the truth of the old proverb, 'Set a beggar on horseback, &c. &c.;' in some few he uses his easily gotten wealth with judgment, treating it as capital, not as income. It is bad here, but it is much worse in Melbourne; and as fresh gold fields are daily discovered, it is impossible to say how long the fever will last. My own opinion, hypothetical of course altogether, is that two or three years will bring down the profits of the gold digger more nearly to a level with those of the working class in general; and that gold mining or washing will become one of the ordinary occupations of a certain portion of the population.

The Council is going on slowly with its work; it has passed sundry resolutions on the subject of transportation, but I look upon these as brought forward more for the purpose of redeeming the pledges made on the hustings, than with an idea that they will produce any marked effect on the conduct of the Government. The members profess themselves anxious to provide fully for all the wants of the public service, and I can see that all the visions of economy which were paraded before their constituents, all those talked of reductions of expenditure, have been, as they always are, quietly put on one side as impracticable.

Your affectionate Son,

W. D.

Extracts from Journal.

Hobart Town, January 25, 1852.

Dearest——,—The gold at Port Phillip is bringing things into a strange state. Such numbers are gone to the diggings, that it now becomes scarcely possible to get anything done here: if you happen to break or injure any of your goods and chattels, broken they must remain, for there is nobody left in the upholsterer's shops to mend them; and all sorts of little ridiculous disasters take place in consequence. About three weeks ago, I broke the little gold chain to which my eyeglass is fastened, and it remains unmended to this day. Our nurserymaid has been for above a month sleeping on a mattress on the floor, because something was amiss with the sacking of her iron bedstead, and the upholsterer to whom it was sent, though he declared it would only be half an hour's job, could not get it done. Our under-kitchen and dairy man, a quiet useful old soul, who will really be a loss to us, is going; our washerwoman ditto; and our gardener and farm man is beginning to talk about an increase of wages, which I suppose is a prelude to his going too. Our difficulties, however, are light in comparison with those of our neighbours. Archdeacon D—— (the Archdeacon of the northern division of the island) who is in town, and who dined with us yesterday, told me that the other day he found himself obliged to lay the cloth, while Mrs. D—— cooked the dinner, every servant they had having gone; he also said that when he wanted some clothes for his eldest son, he had to take him to a ready-made warehouse, the tailors having, I suppose, all vanished likewise. The Bishop, who keeps a little yacht, has no longer a man left to take care of it; so he absolutely now paddles himself off to the yacht every night, and sleeps on board, and paddles back in the morning. I confess, I look upon this as rather a useless measure: he does it, I suppose, because he has already had one yacht

stolen by some prisoners who went off in it to California; but if another set should want to do the same, I do not see how he alone could hinder them, and they might carry off both yacht and Bishop. Another effect of all this stir is to raise the price of everything: labour being scarcer, and provisions and clothing going off in great abundance to Port Phillip, everything is dearer here, and such is the scarcity of shoes, and many such articles, that we are obliged to look forward, and buy at once what we may want two or three months hence, for fear there should be none left at that time. In short, the increase of our expenditure seems likely to be so great from this cause, that we are already drawing in our horns in various items of expense to meet this.

February 3.—I have not much to tell you, except that we are suffering under some domestic calamities which are due to the gold diggings. Mr. S——, the singing master, is going to the diggings, and I do not think that we can find anyone to replace him. The poor man has actually been driven to this step, for, as he says, 'his occupation is gone' here; his pupils are gone, either to dig themselves, or to accompany their parents; so after sundry efforts to make a livelihood, he thinks that there is nothing for it but to go himself.

Another disaster burst upon me this morning, but it had a touch of the ludicrous in it, which amused me in spite of the inconvenience. I believe I mentioned that our old under-kitchen and dairy man was going to the diggings: his occupations in the household have been multifarious, comprising, besides the care of the dairy, the cleaning of lower passages and servants' hall, knife-cleaning, water-carrying, curing hams and bacon in the winter, with a number of etcetcras. When he gave warning, a man offered himself in his place, whom I at once rejected, on the ground that he knew nothing of making butter, or dairy work in general. This morning, however, I heard

that Mr. W——, who manages most matters connected with the men-servants, had engaged him notwithstanding, and when I enquired why, I was told that it was because he could get nobody else.

To Mrs. Denison.

Hobart Town, February 13, 1852.

My dearest Mother,—Our Legislative Council is still in session; it is curiously constituted; every man appears to reason from his own individual experience, and to ignore altogether the teaching of history. He estimates the utility of the measures introduced by their special application to himself.

The majority is composed of men pledged to resist transportation, and as they seem unable to comprehend the possibility of differing from the Government upon one point and not upon all, I have to contend with this shortness of vision, which leads them to oppose matters in themselves most beneficial, merely because they happen to be proposed by the Government.

They at first talked loudly of refusing to vote the estimates, and they adjourned their consideration over the end of January, thinking that I should very likely pay the account due for January, before the Council had voted the money. I was, however, too wary to commit myself to such an extent, and I directed a circular to be sent to all the heads of departments, telling them to inform their subordinates that I could not issue their pay to them without the sanction of the Legislative Council, and at the same time expressing my hope that they would continue to do their duties, as I was sure that they would be paid eventually. This brought the members to reason; they saw that I did not intend to allow them to shift upon me the responsibility which by law attaches to themselves; and they have voted, or rather

have promised to vote, the estimates, and have given me power to make the payments which may fall due.

Lady Denison to Lady Hornby.

Hobart Town, March 9, 1852.

Dearest Mamma,—I cannot let this day pass without wishing many, many happy returns of it to you, and to all! The distance we are apart cannot prevent our thinking of each other, and praying for each other; and it is a pleasure to feel that we *shall* be together in one sense, in spite of the sixteen thousand miles which separate us.

The day before yesterday brought us some more guests in the persons of Mr. and Mrs. R. with their three little children. They are from Port Phillip, where he is a Member of Council; she is lively and good-natured, sings very nicely, and is a great help to me. They were, when we asked them to come here, in a wretched inn, where they could get nobody to wait on them, and no comfort whatever. Indeed, I think our house is almost the only place in the colony where you can really find order and comfort. The consequence of this state of things is that we are often making our house in some way or other a refuge for the destitute, and I sometimes wonder, when we are gone, what the town will do without our servants, who have gone about to a great extent within the last few months, helping people in cases of sickness, &c., when there was no one else to be had. Spreadborough (my maid) is really a public benefactress, and people are beginning to know her as such.

To Mrs. Denison.

Hobart Town, April 17, 1852.

Dearest Mother,—The 'Calliope' has just come in from New Zealand and the Auckland Islands, and Sir Everard Home has handed to me a curious packet of letters on

the subject of the government of the latter place. A few months after I landed here, we heard a loud ring at the door bell at about half-past ten or eleven o'clock at night, and were astonished by the announcement of 'The Governor of the Auckland Islands, and his Private Secretary.' In came these two persons, very rough and draggled in their appearance, and the Governor began at once to tell me his wants, wishes, and intentions. He wanted shoes for the people he was taking out with him, but whom he had left down the river, for fear, I imagine, that they should desert the ship, for he instantly gave me such a description of the Auckland Islands (and I believe a fairly correct one) as would have deterred any settler in his senses from venturing near them. 'I told them,' said the Governor, 'that it blew a gale there for three days in the week, and a hurricane for the other four.'

Having been informed that he could probably get shoes in the shops at Hobart Town, but not at this time of night, he asked whether, if he chose to transport any of his people, I would receive them here. To this I replied that I was not aware of his power, but that unless he could by due process of law sentence men to transportation, I should, of course, decline to receive them; and I warned him at the same time, to be chary as to the steps which he might take of this kind, for that he would find plenty of sharp legal practitioners here who would very soon let him know the results of exceeding his powers. Well, he got his shoes, and off he and his men went the next day, and I heard no more of him till now. I may say, however, that I found him to be a Mr. E——, one of a firm largely engaged in the South Sea Whale Fishery, and I *heard* that they had sold their business to a company by which he had been appointed as manager in the Pacific at these Auckland Islands, which lie to the southward of New Zealand, about Lat. 51°; and that

Lord Grey had given him a commission as Governor, without any salary.

It appears now, that he has so mismanaged the affairs of the company, that two commissioners have been sent out by the Directors to enquire into matters; and these men found so much to blame in Mr. E——'s conduct that they superseded him as superintendent, and then called upon him to resign his appointment as Governor. This he did by a letter to Lord Grey, placed in their hand; they then wanted to get him off the island, but it occurred to him that the commissioners had no power to accept the resignation of his official position, and he wished to withdraw his letter. The result was an active correspondence between the parties, into which Sir E. Home was drawn; and they have sent me this large packet of letters, and mention their intention of paying me a visit.

I am writing a cautious answer to them, but shall carefully guard myself from giving even the shadow of an opinion as to their conduct.

The whole thing has been a take-in from beginning to end; the description which E——gave in his pamphlet of the Auckland Islands, by which he induced the company to establish their settlement there, was copied word for word from a description by Captain Cook of a harbour in New Zealand.[1]

To Colonel Harness, R.E.

Hobart Town, May, 1852.

My dear Harness,—I don't owe you a letter; however, it does not do for friends to keep so very strict a debtor and creditor account against each other, so I shall draw a bill upon you at sight, which I hope you will honour.

I have not heard what your success has been in purify-

[1] I heard eventually that E—— was forced from the island by the refusal of the agents of the company to furnish him with food; he was, in fact, starved out.

ing your Augean stable; you had, I know, much to struggle against. I am pretty well aware of the abuses generated in an establishment not closely looked after, where much trust must be placed in the hands of subordinate departments. In this, I dare say, the Admiralty was but a type of the Mint. Let me know, however, what you are about, and give me some idea of the process of assaying gold, &c. This is, as you may suppose, a subject of some interest to us out here. I have been making experiments for the purpose of ascertaining whether the specific gravity of gold may not lead to a close approximation to its value. I do not, of course, put this mode of obtaining the value of alloys of gold in competition with that of actual analysis, but I think my experiments show that, as a means of guiding merchants in their purchase of gold, it may fairly be depended on. The Australian gold is much purer than that from California; its specific gravity ranging from 18·200 to 18·600. The quantity which is now raised in Australia should, I think, average some 6 or 8 millions per annum; but it can hardly be expected that this amount can continue for many years. Every day, while it opens fresh ground, leaves the old ground bare and empty; and, as in Mexico and Peru, the gold which the Spaniards found in the possession of the Indians was the product of the gold washings which had been cleaned out, so in California and Australia the quantity raised annually will gradually diminish, the labour become heavier and more expensive, and the return for it less, till gold-digging or gold-mining becomes one of those occupations in which capital is employed in the ordinary manner.

We have found gold in small quantities in Van Diemen's Land, but the diggers have not as yet made their wages out of it.

The effect of the rush to the diggings in Victoria is by no means satisfactory. It is, in fact, almost California

over again, without, of course, that utter disregard of all constituted authority. I helped Latrobe, who is the Governor, to 130 organised pensioners, in order to enable him to maintain something like a police at the diggings. Now for a little engineering question. We have a reef at the mouth of the river Tamar, upon which two vessels have been lost. It is a patch of rock about three quarters of a mile in length, but very narrow; at one end the rock rises about seven feet above low-water mark. The question is, how to erect a beacon upon the rock, our means and appliances being very limited. The patch above water is not more than seventeen feet in diameter, and the rock rises in sharp pinnacles with deep hollows between them. My idea is that an iron cylinder, ten feet or thereabouts in diameter, cast in sections, and bolted together, might be placed on the rock, and filled with large rough blocks of stone, cemented together with a concrete compound of roman cement and small broken stones. A cylinder once fixed, another might be bolted to the top of it, and filled in like manner; the whole being thus raised about ten or twelve feet above high water. The staff to carry the beacon might be built into the upper cylinder, and braced to its circumference. The cylinder would have to be cast in England, and might probably be better galvanised. What say you? Get an opinion from one or two competent men, if you meet them. I am engineering in a large way, draining swamps, building bridges, &c.; and I feel that my education makes me specially useful as a Governor in a colony like this, where this description of education is not common.

Yours,

W. D.

To Mrs. Denison.

Hobart Town, June 8, 1852.

My dearest Mother,—I have not been able to send a letter to you for more than six weeks; vessels are slow in arriving, but still slower in getting away, for the seamen of course take the earliest opportunity to go to the diggings. This is not to be wondered at, for I see men of some property in this country leaving their wives and children to go across to Victoria to the gold fields, where they work harder than they ever did before in their lives, and all for the *chance* of getting in six weeks or two months 150*l.* or 200*l.* I heard a story the other day curiously illustrative of the mode in which money goes. A man, a digger, went into a shop to buy a silk gown for his wife; some of the best and most expensive silks were shown to him, but they were not good, or rather, expensive enough; at last a piece of embroidered or flowered silk for gentlemen's waistcoats was shown him, price twenty-two shillings per yard. This was just the thing; but unluckily there was not enough to make a gown: however, *there happened to be* another piece of a pattern not differing very much from the first, and this the man bought, and walked off with his silk, which must have been made up into a gown, I suppose, having alternate breadths of different patterns.

The place is becoming nearly depopulated; one third of the whole free male population has already deserted, and more keep going every day, so what we shall come to at last it is hard to say. Even now it is almost impossible to get anything made; the shoemakers have vanished, and the consequence is, that when a ship arrives from England a rush is made on board, to buy up all the shoes that have come out ready made, and those who are too late have to do the best they can till another ship

comes. One of the Colonial Secretary's little boys was seen running about out of doors without shoes, because there were none to be had in the town of his size. This is the reason why we sent so large an order to England for shoes a short time ago.

To Mrs. Denison.

Hobart Town, July 28, 1852.

My dearest Mother,—Former letters have given you a good idea of the character of the representatives of the people. They are an impracticable set, owing partly to their ignorance of their proper functions, partly to their fear of responsibility, and their craving for popularity. They cannot comprehend that a Government constituted as this is can have no sectional or party interest to serve in introducing any measure; can have indeed no object, but that of promoting the interests of the community. They have been told by the opponents of the Government, and had it so constantly pressed upon them, that the interests of the governing body are at variance with those of the community, as to induce them to set that down as an axiom, which is in point of fact but a most glaring and mischievous fallacy. The worst of such an aphorism as this is, the difficulty of rebutting it; however, I am gradually living down my enemies. The newspaper press, which was for some years altogether opposed to me, has changed its tone, and now, out of seven papers, four are decidedly in my favour, while one of the remaining three allows that, with the sole exception of transportation, the measures proposed by me are the best adapted to the wants of the colony. I see that there has been a change of ministry in England; Sir John Pakington is now my master, instead of Lord Grey. I have had a very kind letter from the latter, expressive of his entire satisfaction with the mode in which I have performed my duty.

The people in the adjoining colonies are beginning to find out the advantage of having an officer of Engineers as Governor. I have had references made to me from Sydney, Melbourne, and Adelaide, not merely from the Government, but from the Town Councils, applying through the Government for my advice on various subjects, such as the construction of docks, the supply of water, the construction of canals, the formation of a harbour. I am going to send all these applications home to the Inspector-General of Fortifications, as an indication of the value of the varied mass of information which an officer of Engineers may, *if he chooses*, pick up in the course of his professional career.

I am going to commence a new Government House upon the site originally selected in the Domain, and I intend to have *such* a garden; such warm terraces in an old quarry, where fruit and flowers can be grown to any extent. My successor, whoever he may be, whenever he may come, will have reason to be grateful to me, for I shall leave all about Government House in the best order.

Extract from Journal.

Hobart Town, October 8, 1852.

Dearest M——,—The state of things here is really most curious. I am not sorry to have seen it, though certainly a residence in or near a gold country cannot be said to be agreeable. This place has been sadly spoiled by it. It is painful to see the successful gold-diggers rioting through the streets, and spending their money in the way they do; for those who come back in this way never think of settling to work again, but drink and throw away their money while it lasts, and when all is gone, go off to the diggings again. There would be something absurd, were it not too painful, in the sight of the cabs full of noisy men and women, dressed out in the most extravagant style, driving about, and, alas! stopping at

the doors of all the public-houses. The dress is the most comical part of the business. I saw a woman the other day, walking through the streets in dirty weather, dressed in a beautiful silver grey satin gown, the sort of gown that I should never think of wearing, except at some large evening party, but which she did not even take the trouble to hold up out of the mud. Another woman is said to have been seen walking on the wharf arrayed in bright pink velvet or plush! But to my mind all these 'signs of the times' are really too sad to laugh at. I cannot help thinking how many of these poor wretched people will be utterly destitute in their old age, because now, when they have the means of making a comfortable provision for themselves and their families, they throw it all away so recklessly; to say nothing of the still more painful feelings excited by what one sees and hears of the drinking, &c., that goes on to such an extent. And yet I believe that this place is nothing to Melbourne; there, they say, it is hardly endurable, and many of the more respectable families are, we hear, coming over here, to escape from the dreadful state of society there.

To Mrs Denison.

Hobart Town, October 13, 1852.

My dearest Mother,—There has been a longer gap than usual in my correspondence, but a good deal has occurred in the interval which has been productive of much annoyance to me, but which will, in the end, I have no doubt, work out satisfactorily. You may recollect that, some six months ago, I mentioned the arrival of my new Colonial Secretary, Mr. C——. I was much pleased with him at first; I found him a man of information, well acquainted with the general system of Colonial politics; with a fair appreciation, as I then thought, of the character and motives of the men opposed to the Government. One or two attacks which were made upon the Government

at the commencement of the session of the Council were successfully met, and from what I knew of the feeling of the great body of the people, I began to augur well of my chance of carrying the measures of the Government to a satisfactory termination in the Council. After a time, however, matters seemed to get worse, though one could hardly give a good reason for such a change. At last, one of the members having given notice of a motion for an address to the Queen to put a stop to transportation, I had to confer with Mr. C—— as to the best mode of meeting this motion; and I was thunderstruck at hearing him profess his *inability to vote against it.* I pointed out to him how improperly he had acted in accepting the office of Colonial Secretary in a convict colony, while he held such opinions, and how very unfairly he had dealt with me in keeping these opinions secret from me, and from all the members of the Government. He tried to explain away his conduct, but most unsuccessfully; and I have since found out that though he kept his opinions secret from the Government, he made them known to members of Council, and others in the opposition. I now hear from the members of council friendly to the Government, that he never paid them the least attention, never consulted them in any way; but that he was always conferring with the most violent members of the opposition.

I have warned him that he cannot expect to remain as Colonial Secretary after this session of Council. Were I to serve him right, I should suspend him at once, but my compassion was excited by his statement that, in such a case, he would be left penniless, and I have come to the determination to grant him leave till the result of a referance to the Secretary of State can be made known. The effect of this double-dealing on the part of the Colonial Secretary (in which, by the way, he was backed by another Government official, who changed his views on the subject of transportation between Friday night and

Monday morning, and who will share the fate of the Colonial Secretary), has been very damaging to the Government for the present, but it has done this good, that I have seen who are my friends, and in whom I can trust. The opposition members are furious at the removal of these two men; they looked forward to the presence of two traitors in the camp of the Government as being a certain assurance of victory; and are correspondingly annoyed when they find that the result of their attack is the ruin of their tools, and an exposure of themselves.

Early in November I received an account of the partial destruction, by a heavy flood, of the bridge over the North Esk, on the main road between Hobart Town and Launceston, near Perth; and having a few other matters to look into at the northern side of the island, among which was the condition of the Launceston swamp, just below the junction of the two rivers, the North and South Esk, which I had surrounded with an embankment and drained, I decided to take advantage of a short interval of leisure to inspect these works, and to pay a visit to the more western settlements of Westbury and Deloraine. I travelled on horseback, as I found it more convenient in every respect to be independent of wheeled vehicles, as far as I myself was concerned; my baggage, however, was sent forward in a carriage or cart, as the case might be. The following letters will give an account of the state of the works which I had to inspect, and generally of my proceedings.

To Lady Denison.

Newnham, November 19.

Dearest Lina,—I sent you a hasty letter finished in pencil at the post-office in Perth, the said post-office being a school aided by Government, but apparently in a very bad

condition. I shall suggest to Arnold [1] to inspect it carefully. I had not then time to give you a sketch of our proceedings. Clarke and I and Arnold started from Longford at about eleven o'clock, the latter on his way to inspect the schools in the neighbourhood, and I to look at the Perth bridge, where I had engaged to meet Hampton and Kay [2] at one o'clock. We put up our horses at an inn kept by an old German, who came to the door in his nightcap, he and his wife being both ill with the influenza. We then walked down to the bridge, where we met Hampton, Kay, and Mr. Sinclair of Evandale. I was sorry to find matters in a much worse state than I expected. The work of repair will be very difficult, and I shall have to send a strong body of men to Perth, to appoint a proper clerk of works or surveyor, and shall, after all, perhaps be stopped by the floods.

We lunched at Perth, and then rode on to Launceston, where Mr. G—— met us with a carriage, and drove us to this place, where we arrived at six o'clock, our baggage having preceded us.

I got your letter on my arrival. You may rest assured, dearest, that I will not travel on Sunday for many reasons, among which the wish to please you will not be a trifling one; but my most cogent reason would be that it is uncomfortable to myself to do so: I mean that my conscience tells me that I am acting improperly. In fact, I am not only offending others, but myself also.

I think I mentioned that a proposal had been made to get up a public dinner at Longford, to which I was to be invited. I did not entertain the proposition with any special favour, but as fifty people had sent in their names as subscribers, I felt bound to accept the invitation; but they have bargained for Friday instead of Thursday, so I am afraid, dearest, that, for the first time since our mar-

[1] Government Inspector of Schools.
[2] Director of Public Works.

riage, we shall not be together either on our marriage-day or your birthday. As, however, I feel that our love for each other has grown steadily from year to year; that it is such an affection as people should have for their partners on the road to the heavenly city, I will not look upon this, our first separation, as in any way ominous.

This has been a week of bustle: I look forward to the quiet of a Sunday at Entally with great pleasure.

Entally, Saturday Night.—The week of bustle and activity is over, and now approaches the calm and quiet of the Sabbath. You, in your letter, draw a distinction between the Sabbath and the Sunday, and so do I, with regard to the strict pharisaical observance of it; but I think that I look upon it more in the light of a day of rest than you do: not so much, of course, as regards ourselves. I do not know that we have earned the rest, the physical rest, at all events; but with regard to the working population, those doomed to a life of toil from youth to old age, without a prospect of aught of ease or rest, but that which the Sabbath affords, I cannot but think that we deal too hardly with them. We work them for our advantage from day to day and from year to year, and we find fault with them if they use that small break in their toil interposed by the Sabbath to any other purpose than that to which our conscience tells us *we* should devote our Sundays. A truly charitable spirit, such as could place itself in a position similar to that of those whom we are so fond of judging, and could bring their feelings and thoughts under its notice as realities, will judge itself sternly when it contrasts its own shortcomings with those of the working classes. We are fond of talking of the temptations of wealth, as if these were so strong as to justify us in considering that those against which the poor have to struggle are as nothing in comparison.

Sunday Night.—I have passed a much quieter and pleasanter Sunday than I did at Longford. The morning

service was at Carrick, about three miles from Entally. Arnold and I walked there, the rest went in the carriage. Mr. Reibey read prayers, and his brother preached on the text, 'Whoso is wise *and* will ponder these things, will see the loving-kindness of the Lord.' There is a difference between the Prayer Book and Bible version of this Psalm, that given above being from the Bible; it interpolates the conjunction, making pondering, as well as wisdom, necessary to the due understanding of the loving-kindness of the Lord; whereas the Prayer Book's seems to say that pondering will be the necessary result of wisdom.

Monday, 27.—I was occupied this morning in noting down the heads of my speeches to-morrow. I have to return thanks for my own health, and then to propose 'Prosperity to Van Diemen's Land,' and must make a speech introducing something complimentary to the agricultural district. After having finished my papers and sent off the bag, we started to pay a visit to Mr. and Mrs. Dumaresq, Mrs. R—— and I riding, Clarke driving Mrs. A—— and her baby in a gig. Mr. Dumaresq's house is on the other side of the South Esk, and we had to cross a ford just under the windows: when we got to the ford, I rode down and led the way, Mrs. R—— following me; the bottom of the river was rather rough, but the water was shallow, and we experienced no difficulty. When we got across, we looked back expecting to see Clarke on his way across, when lo! Mrs. A—— was getting out of the gig with her baby, and in a few minutes Clarke came across, telling us that Mrs. A—— refused to venture, and would insist upon walking up to the boat, which is a sort of canoe running across by means of a rope, a little higher up the river. I then rode back to ascertain what she was about to do, and found her not so disposed to walk to the boat as she at first had been, for she had got into a swamp on her first attempt. I then offered to take her across upon 'Sampson,' and as a preliminary carried over the baby. When I got across with the baby, I could not get anybody

to take it from me; Clarke had to look after his horse and gig, and Mrs. R—— was on a fidgety horse: she, however, got off, and gave her horse to Clarke to hold, and took the baby, while I rode back to bring over Mrs. A——. The first difficulty was how to get her on the horse: the road was cut through the bank, and I tried to bring 'Sampson' so near as to allow her to jump on behind me without much trouble; but this was difficult, the bank sloped away, and Mrs. A—— was not like the white lady of Avenel, who jumped on behind the monk. I then got off and seated her on the horse, intending, like young Lochinvar, to spring lightly into the saddle before her: this, however, I could not manage to do unless I sat with my face to the tail, (query, could he?) so I dismounted her again, and tried as at first; and by dint of allowing her to use the stirrup, I at last got her seated behind me, and away we dashed to the ford. When I got into the water, I was in a horrid fright lest we should slip off together; she hung so completely on to me, as more than once nearly to pull me out of the saddle. However, by dint of hanging forward, and pressing my knees into 'Sampson,' I managed to get her safe across; and I then made myself quite weak and tired with laughing.

We had luncheon, or rather dinner, with the Dumaresqs, then walked about in the garden, and set off home about five o'clock, going through the bush to the Launceston road, and crossing Entally Bridge in preference to recrossing the ford.

I must send this off at once, as there is no Saturday mail, and as I shall not be in a position to catch the Sunday day mail, you might not even hear from me on the anniversary of our wedding-day. May God watch over you and our children, and may He make the remainder of our life on earth as happy as the years we have passed together!

Yours affectionately,

W. D.

To ——.

November, 1852.

My dear ——, — I have been acting as engineer latterly, having taken a trip to the northern side of the island for the purpose of inspecting a bridge, a portion of which was carried away by a heavy flood not long ago. The state of the bridge was very curious: the lower portion of some of the piers had been undermined, and had consequently given way, with so much of the arch as was supported by them, but the remainder stood firm, and I passed, on foot, across from one side of the river to the other. When I went down to examine into the state and character of the bed of the river, I found it to consist of blocks of stone, a sort of grey limestone I think, with joints between the blocks, filled in with a very hard blue clay, mixed with small stones. The water rose to within a few inches of the crown of the arch, but the bridge would have stood very well, had not the water softened the clay, which was then gradually swept out from between the stones, leaving them to withstand singly the action of the water. The pressure was too great, however, and first one stone went, then another; and at last those which supported the lower portions of the piers were shaken and loosened; and when this was once done, the fate of that part of the pier became inevitable, and with it of course came down the arch which abutted against it. It will be an awkward business to repair the bridge, but I must send up some men to try to put it to rights, as it is on the main line of road.

The flood was a very high one; it passed some twenty feet and upwards over the floor of a wooden bridge on the South Esk, a few miles below the point where it is crossed by the bridge before alluded to, coming down so suddenly that the toll-keeper, who lived in a cottage

placed on a bank some ten feet above the floor of the bridge, was obliged to take refuge on the ridge of the roof, from whence he and his pet parrot were taken off at an early hour the next morning. The only damage done to that bridge was the carrying away of the hand-rail. The piers were made of rough timber, notched and pinned down to each other, forming a sort of box, which was filled in with blocks of stone. This kind of bridge seems admirably suited to resist the action of floods. The gravel was washed away near these piers, so as to make them settle irregularly, but still they did settle, and all that it was necessary to do was to bring up the roadway so as to make it less angular in its outline, and to restore the handrail and framework. The bridge has stood many assaults; indeed I do not believe that a single year passes in which one or two floods do not go over the bridge, as well as under it. Having inspected these bridges, I walked carefully round the Launceston Swamp. This, which is situated below the meeting of the two rivers, the North and South Esk, is always partially under water during the floods, but it seemed to be such a very simple undertaking to keep the water of the river from backing on to it, and to provide for the discharge of the drainage by means of one or two sluices, that I thought it worth while to employ a gang of convicts to embank and drain it. The work was nearly completed when I went to visit it; only one *contretemps* had occurred in the execution of the work, and this was but a trifle; about thirty yards of the embankment, which had been raised to a height of some five or six feet, having quietly subsided during the absence of the men at dinner, the ground beneath it being very wet and boggy. A day or two's labour, however, set all to rights.

Some of the ground had been cultivated, and was bearing a good-looking crop of turnips and potatoes. It is wonderful to see what a sward of white clover is

springing up wherever the ground is dry, while all the wet marshy plants are fast disappearing. I have no doubt that the enhanced value of the land which will soon be sold will pay twice over the whole of the outlay upon it.

Yours very truly,

W. D.

Extracts from Journal.

Saturday, January 22, 1853.

Dearest M——,—We have done a little bit of policy, which has answered very well; and Mr. G—— has done a little piece of opposition to it, which has not answered to him at all. You will laugh when you hear that these fine-sounding words of 'policy' and 'opposition' have reference merely to such a small matter as our having patronised, and been present at, a regatta, which was held at a place called Kangaroo Point; a pretty little settlement just opposite this town, but on the other side of the river. The people there, disappointed I suppose at the great annual regatta's not having taken place this year, determined, two or three weeks ago, to get one up, and asked William to patronise it. No sooner did Messrs. G—— and Co. find that he was to patronise it, and that it was likely to be a successful affair, than they set to work to make it fail; (conceive carrying political feeling into a matter of amusement like this!) They withdrew all the boats belonging to their own whalers, and all others over which they had any influence, and, not satisfied with this, they endeavoured, at the last moment, to get up an opposition regatta for the same day at Sandy Bay; and I am told, took into pay for the day all the watermen's boats, so as to prevent their plying across the river, and taking people over to Kangaroo Point. This last attempt, however, did not avail them much; for the river steamers plied all day long on behalf of the Kangaroo Point regatta, and brought over crowds of people. Moreover, this attempt at opposition raised

the spirit of William's supporters, and the Government officers, the Mayor and Corporation, and others, made a point of coming to the regatta he was to patronise. This, perhaps, did not much signify; but what I look to as the really successful point of the day, is the feeling which it has evidently kindled in the mind of the Kangaroo Point people, and that neighbourhood. I had never been over there before, and William but seldom; so that our appearance was a novelty, and made all the more sensation. We boated over to the scene of action in the morning between ten and eleven o'clock, and took the children with us. ...

In the course of the afternoon, there was a native youth's race, contested by boys born in the colony; and when William came down from the stand to give the prize to the winners, our little Henry followed him; and W——, seeing him standing by his side, was suddenly struck with the idea that he, as being a native youth himself, should present the prize to his young compatriots. This delighted the people amazingly; I saw such smiling, gratified-looking faces in the crowd, pressing forward to get a better view of Henry, as pleased me much; particularly as he happily remained quite unconscious of the sensation he was creating, and when the usual amount of cheering for the winners of the prize had been gone through, they gave three cheers for the little native. It was when we were going away that the feeling of the people manifested itself most, though W—— had been warmly received all along; but, as we walked down towards the landing place to re-embark, I perceived a setting of the stream of people in the same direction, though the regatta was not over, which made me suspect what was coming; particularly as I heard one man saying, as he passed, something about 'a cheer which will never end!' I heard people here and there pointing out W—— to one another, and greeting him with expressions

of good will as he passed, which, as I was a little behind him, I was in a very good position to hear; and at last I heard such a fervent 'God bless you and yours!' from one man, as pleased me more than all the rest. In short, there was evidently a feeling of interest and good will towards us, which made me think that mixing with people occasionally, or merely showing oneself among them, does a great deal of good. As soon as we were in the boat, the 'cheer that was never to end began;' such a roar! Cheers long and loud, and often renewed, for W——, then for me, then for the children; till, I should think, some of the shouters can hardly have any voice left.

February 8.—Here we are again on our travels, paying visits on the northern side of the island. Travelling in this country is very amusing; but amid much that is scrambling and comical, we find never-failing kindness and hospitality everywhere. We had a sort of adventure in coming away from Mr. L——'s house, near Campbell Town, with a strange pair of horses, which were to bring our carriage there from the Campbell Town inn, and take us on about twelve miles further, where our own horses had been sent to await us. These strange ones had been at grass for months, and were perfectly wild; so they ran away, all but upset the carriage, and were at last only stopped by the coachman's turning them up a place full of deep sand, where the carriage stuck fast. We, in the meantime, at Mr. L——'s, were wondering why the carriage did not make its appearance; and at last the younger Mr. L—— rode off to Campbell Town to see what was the matter, and his brother, a good-humoured, merry sort of character, consoled me with: 'Well, ma'am, it is very provoking, your carriage and horses not coming in time; but I *never knew anything come in time* in this country yet, ha! ha! ha! and we have been in the colony thirty years!'

Entally, February 12.—A Mr. and Mrs. D—— came

to dine here yesterday, and when they were going away at night, it rained so hard, that our hosts, Mr. and Mrs. Reibey, pressed them to stay, thinking that they might in wet weather have some difficulty in crossing a ford which lay between them and their home. They declined the invitation, however, and departed; but about an hour after, just as we were preparing to go to bed, there was a sort of commotion at the back door, a sudden excitement among servants and dogs, and then the announcement that the D——'s were come back again! Their carriage lamp had been blown out; and the night was so dark, that they had been quite unable to find the road, and after wandering in the bush for an hour, had fairly given up the point, and returned so wet and weary that they were glad then to accept the Reibeys' offer; but this house is so filled with our party, that a bed had to be made up for these benighted guests in the drawing-room! I much admired this instance of colonial hospitality under difficulties; 'Where there is *heart* room, there is house room!'

Lady Denison to Mrs. C. Stanley.

Entally, February 25, 1853.

My dear Mrs. Stanley,—It seems a longer time than usual since I have written to you; but I cannot tell exactly, because, as you will see by my date, I am not at home, and therefore I have not my letter-book to refer to. We left home about three weeks ago, but our travels have been very quiet ones, and this place has been our head-quarters. I have not been in Launceston, except for a few hours: indeed, the principal hotel there, in these *golden* days, is so destitute as to servants, that I doubt if they could have received us, even had we wished to go there, which we did not. We had nothing particular to do there, and did not want, by any stay in the town, to encourage any expectation of our giving a *ball*. I know

this would have been expected, had we been staying in Launceston, and really, in the present state of the times, it is not to be thought of; everything is so expensive, and many things so difficult to procure on any terms. We managed to give our Christmas ball, and it was very successful; and with this, and the Queen's birthday, people must, I think, content themselves, till times mend. We are obliged to be home in the course of next week, because that never-ending Council is to meet again on Tuesday, March 8th. You know, I think, that the opposition members, during last year's session, hampered themselves with a foolish pledge that they would not, this year, vote more than *one thirteenth* of the sum hitherto voted for the support of police and gaols, unless they received a favourable answer from the Home Government to their petition on the subject of transportation. As time went on, however, they began to find themselves in what the Americans call a 'fix:' no favourable answer came from home, and meanwhile they found out that the proposed reduction of the police and gaols would be so unpopular a measure here, that it would endanger their seats in the Council, in the event of a dissolution and a new election. Under these circumstances, they have gone on postponing their decision; first requesting that William would adjourn the Council till the last possible moment (the close of the old year), which he did; then voting the *whole* sum for police and gaols for three months, and promising to do grand things and redeem their pledge on the 31st of March, if they did not receive a favourable answer to their petition before that time. It is this which has necessitated their re-assembling the week after next; and I was very curious to see how they would get out of their dilemma, for it is needless to say, that no official answer to their petition has yet been received; but I think now they will get out of it on the strength of that paragraph in the Queen's speech about secondary punishments: they will

choose to consider that as a promise of the cessation of transportation, and on that ground they will vote the whole estimate as heretofore.

To Mrs. Denison.

February 28, 1853.

My dearest Mother,—I have been down to the north coast of the island, through a country which I have never before visited. I had a very pleasant trip, saw a great deal, made myself master of the mystery of cheese-making, which, just at present, is a most profitable part of a farmer's business, looked into sundry establishments newly commenced for working coal, sawing timber, &c., and rode back at the end of the week. The country through which I have been is peculiarly favourable to the dairy farmer: the ground is very rich, and as soon as it is cleared, there is a spontaneous growth of white clover, so that after the crop of corn is harvested, there is clover sufficient to feed cattle of every kind; and this food comes in at the worst time of the year, when all other grass is burnt up.

Then, again, the prices which are paid for cheese and butter shame our English ideas. The gentleman with whom I was staying, sells his cheese wholesale, as soon as it is fit to move, at thirteen pence per pound; and a cow, only an ordinary milker, should make two lb. of cheese per day; or return 2*s.* 2*d.* per day, for about 200 days during the year. Butter is not so profitable; for, on an average, it takes four gallons of milk to make a pound of butter, which sells by wholesale, in casks, slightly salted, for 1s. 6*d.* per lb.

The immense immigration into Melbourne is at the bottom of these high prices, which will not, of course, last for very long. The profit to be made by dairy farming will soon lead other people to compete for their share, and, just as the gold mania is ceasing, as the amount of

the attraction to these colonies is lessened, the supply of every kind of produce will be enhanced five or tenfold. Prices will then fall: many who have borrowed money, or purchased land, under the idea that the present state of things will last for an indefinite time, will be ruined, and we shall have the usual period of depression.

As Port Phillip was the proximate cause of our former distress, so it will be now. The gold is producing very much the same effect as the demand for sheep and cattle did ten years since. The price of every article is enhanced to an unnatural extent, and I see, even now, traces of a disposition to consider these prices as permanent, and to calculate the returns from a property accordingly; so that the prices which are paid are not such as would be warranted by the ordinary market value of agricultural produce, but by such as a sanguine mind calculates on realising. In the mean time, however, we are benefiting greatly, in several respects, by the overflow of gold, and I look forward to the investment of large amounts in land in this colony. The greater part of the land through which I rode had been taken up within the last twelve months, since the promulgation of the new regulations, and more land has been purchased, or taken for purchase in the last twelve months, than has been sold by the Government during the previous twelve years.

We got the Queen's speech, in which the question of the cessation of transportation was noticed. This has pleased all the party opposed to transportation in the colony, though they now begin to calculate what the cost of their hobby will be to them. I do not suppose, however, that any very sudden change will be made. We shall have time to make our arrangements for the supply of labour before we are left altogether to our own resources.

Extracts from Journal.

Hobart Town, April 9, 1853.

We went yesterday to the Newtown races, of which W——, as usual, was patron. The races had lasted for three days, and he had been there once before; but as races are not much in my line, I never go except on the last day, when the great race is run, for the Queen's Plate. This was an institution of W——'s; a race to be run with heavy weights, as he thought it was desirable to encourage the introduction of a stronger kind of horse than that which has generally been in vogue here; and hitherto he has given the prize: but this year the Legislative Council, at his suggestion, voted a sum for the purpose, which at once holds out a larger prize (as they, of course, give more than he could afford to do from his own private purse), and is a saving to ourselves. So, to do honour to this race, and to please the children, who are always anxious to go, I generally devote myself to the purpose, on the last day's racing. Yesterday, however, there was nothing very good; one horse had it all its own way from first to last for the Queen's Plate, and there was no closely contested racing at all. W—— was heartily cheered by the people on the course, and I got through the day's work with less fatigue, and, consequently, more pleasure than I expected.

To Mrs. Denison.

May 2, 1853.

My dearest Mother,—The Government has decided that transportation should cease, and as this has been the great bone of contention between me and my Council, I trust that we may be able to get on better than we have hitherto done.

I think it probable that every day will prove to the people here more clearly the correctness of the views

which I have taken of their situation and prospects, and the wisdom of the course I have advocated; and I confess that I anticipate a reaction, not only here but in England, when people begin to feel the burden they have entailed upon themselves; here, by depriving themselves of labour; in England, by retaining a set of men trained in crime, of whose reform I confess I do not think hopefully. The pressure upon the labour market here is very great; thousands are wanted, but we can get only tens. The Government has been in the habit of sending us between 3,000 and 4,000 emigrants and convicts, and are about to diminish the supply by nearly 3,000. How we are to fill the place of these men, at a cost of at least 50,000*l.*, is the question; and if, even with this amount, we have not been able to carry on our operations, what are we to do without them? Last year much land was left uncultivated for want of labour; this year a large portion of the remaining arable land will go out of cultivation. Hay is now 25*l.* per ton here, and 50*l.* at Melbourne. I am providing for next year by sowing about fifteen acres of oats, which I propose to thrash out, and to feed my horses with crushed oats and chopped oat-straw. I am obliged to reduce my stud, and keep as few horses as possible. All our public works are at a standstill for want of hands. All mechanics are getting from 15*s.* to 20*s.* per diem, while ordinary labourers on the wharf, who were formerly glad to work for 3*s.* 6*d.*, now ask 10*s.* I paid my gardener 30*s.* a week, and he left me the other day, saying that he could not live on that, and therefore intended to go to the diggings again. I have luckily got a much better man, a convict, for 10*s.* a week and his board; but many others are obliged to give up their gardens altogether. In fact, my dearest mother, this discovery of gold has turned us topsy-turvy altogether: that good will result from it in the long run, I do not doubt—that it has already resulted in some things, I can

clearly see; but this present good is obscured and hidden by so much that is evil, as to make many question its existence; or at all events doubt whether the balance of evil does not preponderate. In the meantime, as regards ourselves, the evil can only be termed an inconvenience.

I mentioned to you that I had forwarded a petition from upwards of 2,000 persons, praying the Queen to retain me in this Government. I have just had from the Duke of Newcastle an acknowledgment of the receipt of this petition, and a compliment to myself on the evidence afforded by it of the satisfactory character of my administration. Whatever, then, the Government may think of doing with me, I have no reason to doubt their good will. God bless you, my dearest mother.

Your affectionate Son,
W. D.

Extract from Journal.

Hobart Town, May 30, 1853.

Dearest M——,—Oh! the *worlds* of interest which yesterday brought us, in the shape of the largest mail, I think, that we have ever received! . . . . a steamer *viâ* India having actually made a quick passage at last! Tell dearest Mammy how we bless her for all her sympathy in the annoyances which she imagines W—— may have to undergo, in consequence of the decision of the Government about transportation; however, I am happy to tell her, that there seems no probability of his having to encounter anything like the annoyance she seems to fear for him. In truth, no one who has not seen him latterly can really understand his state of mind on the subject, and be aware of the utter absence of irritation or annoyance arising from anything of the sort. He affords the most complete illustration I ever saw of the text, 'Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace whose mind is stayed on Thee.' 'Perfect peace' seems to me to describe his

habitual state of feeling exactly: he does what he thinks right at the time, and never worries himself the least about the consequences; always looks to them hopefully, and is quite contented with them when they come, be they what they may. This present matter of transportation is one on which, of course, he had no personal feeling or interest either way; his only anxiety about it was for the sake of the colony, on which he thinks that its sudden cessation will entail considerable difficulty and distress. He is now setting to work just as cordially as before with every measure that he thinks likely at all to palliate that distress; and for himself, he feels it rather a relief than otherwise that the one vexed question between him and the Council and a great body of the colonists, is thus set at rest. It does not seem to us now that he can, for the future, have here to encounter any opposition worthy of the name. I dare say there are a few individuals whose occupation would be so entirely gone if they were not raising a clamour against the Government, that they will go on opposing him for opposition's sake; but even they, I think, will be sorely at a loss for a grievance to found their opposition on; and the main body of the colonists, I should hope—all those who have been honest anti-transportationists, and nothing else, will be likely to rally round him now, and support him on other points. Meantime, our public despatches yesterday were as satisfactory as our private ones; there they were in the morning, as the nursery rhyme says, 'three bags full;' and very pretty things are said to William in them; not so much in the formal despatch, as in confidential letters from the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Grey, and Mr. Gladstone, who have all written to him: the latter, however, chiefly in answer to a letter W—— wrote to him on Church matters.

To Mrs. Denison.

Hobart Town, May 30, 1853.

My dearest Mother,—I have been inundated with letters for the last week or two. Unluckily there has been so much delay in getting the mail over from Melbourne as to deprive me of the possibility of answering any of them by the return steamer *viâ* India, so I must take my chance of a conveyance for this. I must, however, late though it may be before it reaches you, give you an account of the despatches and letters which I have received from the Colonial Office. In the first place, the Duke of Newcastle, in the matter between me and the Council, distinctly tells me that he approves of my conduct. I have also got a private letter from him, alluding to the course adopted by the Government as regards transportation, and very kindly telling me that if my situation is made unpleasant by the change, he will gladly listen to any application on my part for a move. I have told him in return that I shall be well satisfied to remain so long as my conduct is approved of by the Government and the people here; that I, of course, should be glad to be promoted, but that my service under the Colonial Department is too short to entitle me to claim this, and I am quite content to leave the matter in his hands. In your last letter, you appear to condole with me on the decision of the Government to put a stop to transportation; but in truth, though they have acted contrary to my advice, I think I have cause to rejoice. I use every effort to remedy the evils which the change of system will induce, and if successful, I get the credit, if I fail, I can fairly say, 'I told you what would happen'; so, all things considered, I do not think that I have any reason to complain. God bless you, my dearest mother. Best love to all near and dear to us.

Extracts from Journal.

Hobart Town, September 7, 1853.

Dearest——,—Imagine our astonishment at breakfast time yesterday morning, on receiving information that the coach had just come in from Launceston, bringing tidings that the steamer from Melbourne was on its way up the river there, and that Mr. Clarke was on board with important despatches for W——! This news startled the town from its propriety not a little: all sorts of rumours were flying about throughout the day, some asserting that W—— was appointed to the Governorship of Port Phillip, others, that an *émeute* had taken place amongst the diggers, and that Mr. Latrobe had sent over to W—— to beg for assistance in the way of troops, &c. You may suppose that we ourselves were not without some curious and excited feelings on the occasion; but we soon sobered down again, under the idea that the latter of the two above-mentioned rumours was probably the true one. At any rate, we knew we should not be long in suspense, for Mr. Clarke would be sure to come down by the day coach; so there was nothing to be done but to order a room to be prepared for him, and to wait the event in patience. About eight o'clock in the evening he arrived, but the news which he brought, though exactly of the kind which we expected, is more serious in its character. Instead of slight disturbances, things seem to be assuming the aspect of a regular rebellion among the diggers. The Government there was, I think, rather weak in yielding to some of their demands at first on the subject of license fees, and these concessions have only made them more unreasonable; so that they are making the most extravagant demands, and getting very violent, some of them really talking a sort of language of Red Republicanism. Mr. Latrobe has sent all the troops he has against them; and those being insufficient, he sends to W—— (who has

already once proved a friend in need by sending him a force of pensioners to keep order, when Melbourne was in a dreadful state of anarchy), for further assistance. My good man is quite equal to the occasion: he and Colonel D—— were early in conference this morning, and as soon as the steamer can get round here for them, all that can be spared of the regiment here will be embarked. These will be followed in a short time by a body of pensioners: so I hope the Port Phillip Government will feel that they owe us something.

September 13.—The troops embarked and sailed yesterday: Mr. Clarke returned to Melbourne at the same time. He told us wonderful things about the *financial* difficulties there; 500*l.* a year is the rent for two rooms only!! and Mr. Clarke declares that he throws away his socks whenever they are dirty, finding it cheaper to buy new ones than to get the others washed!!! Many people living there, send their washing to Sydney, a distance of some 500 miles, finding the freight there and back, and the large supply of clothing which of course they must have when their washing is so far off, cheaper than getting it done on the spot.

September 20.—There has been good news from Melbourne, that is to say, all seems quiet there again; and Mr. Latrobe, in a letter to W—— thanking him for the troops, almost says that he shall not want them after all!! What a pity he did not weigh his circumstances better, before he sent for them!

To Peter Fraser, Esq. (acting Colonial Secretary).

Government House, September 13, 1853.

My dear Fraser,—From the tenor of your conversation last night, I was led to infer that your opinions on the subject of education are yet to a certain extent undefined. You will not therefore object to this attempt on my part

to bring the matter in something like a regular shape under your notice. It is a subject upon which I have read much, and thought deeply. I will not, however, trouble you with an essay upon education, but will try to give you, as shortly and as tersely as possible, my views upon certain prominent points, those for instance which must be considered in Committee.

The two main heads under which the subject classifies itself are :—

1st. Mode of raising the necessary funds.

2nd. Nature of education to be given.

There are, of course, several subordinate enquiries to be made, such as nature of supervision, whether local or governmental; mode of procuring teachers, &c. &c.; but before we discuss the mode of raising the necessary funds we must get some idea of the amount which it will be necessary to raise.

Now, in order to give children such an education as they ought to have, such as will prove really useful, properly qualified masters must be provided; that is, men who have received a good education themselves, and who are willing to devote themselves to an arduous, and, to many, a disagreeable duty. In order to induce such men so to devote themselves, not only must the present remuneration be adequate, but some prospect of advancement should be held out; that is, some prospect of a salary increasing with length of service. At present the pay of a third class clerk is 100*l.*+75*l.* added on account of pressure of times; and, as a schoolmaster ought to be a man of higher attainments than a mere copying clerk, he should not receive less than this salary. The clerk has an annual increase of 10*l.* till his salary of 100*l.* amounts to 140*l* 7 5*l.*; he has the prospect of promotion to the second and first classes, with higher pay; and I do not think that a schoolmaster who has toiled for years in his profession, would be well or pro-

perly treated, or, to speak more in accordance with the mode in which I am dealing with the subject, would be treated in a manner likely to induce him to devote himself to tuition, were he not able to look forward to an increase of income something analogous to that which a clerk would receive. If, then, we say that the minimum salary at present should be 175*l.* and the maximum 350*l.* the mean would be somewhere about 250*l.*; this, with a house and garden, would place the schoolmaster in the respectable position which he ought to maintain, as the person whose action on the habits and manners of the community is of the utmost importance. For sixty schools, then, 15,000*l.* per annum would be required. Now we can proceed to discuss the mode of raising the amount. There are three ways of doing this: 1st, by voluntary subscriptions, coupled with payments made by parents of children sent to the school; 2ndly, by compulsory payments from inhabitants of school districts; 3rdly, by contributions from the general revenue, coupled with payments made by parents of children.

Of these, the first, if it could be depended upon, would be unquestionably the best; as it would insure an amount of interest taken by the wealthier inhabitants of a district in the welfare of the schools, which would induce them to take an active share in the supervision and control of the management, without which the energies of the master would soon flag, and his performance of his duty become a mechanical routine. The patrons and supporters of the school may be supposed to have such an interest in its success, as to lead them to exert themselves to extend its benefits among the children of their poorer neighbours.

There is, however, one objection to this scheme, of some weight, even upon the supposition that adequate funds could be provided by it; viz. that the education is to a great extent eleemosynary, and as such not pro-

perly appreciated by the parents of the children who attend. Can, however, any dependence be placed upon voluntary efforts when it is a question of raising thousands of pounds, not once for all, but regularly year by year, and when each year necessarily requires large additions to the amount? I say large additions, for the number of children born annually amounts to upwards of 2,000, and though of course a proportional number leave the school annually, a larger number join it; in point of fact I should be disposed to say that when the system, whatever it may be, is once brought fairly into action, an annual addition of five to the number of schools will be the least which can be anticipated, and therefore that an annual addition of 5×250, or 1,250*l.* must be calculated on, when the question of the mode of raising the necessary funds is under consideration.

The second mode of raising this fund is by compulsory payments from the inhabitants of the school district.

This is the next best system; it insures a certain amount of local control and supervision, inasmuch as people will look after the expenditure of their own money.

There are three ways in which this money may be raised:—1st. by a personal tax, as proposed in the Bill now before the council.

2nd. By a house tax levied according to the value of the house.

3rd. By a property tax.

By the first, the children will be in a measure compelled to come to school, as the parents will wish to get their pennyworth for their penny; the amount raised will be in proportion to the population, and will therefore keep pace with the wants of the district.

The second will operate to a certain extent in the same manner, as houses will increase pretty much in the same ratio as the population, and the man who pays the school rate on his house will wish to get the benefit, by sending his children to school. A large proportion of

the expense is thrown upon the wealthier classes; that is, the education, as far as the poorer classes are concerned, is to a certain extent eleemosynary, which is, as I have shown before, objectionable.

The third mode, that of a rate on property, throws the whole burthen of education on the wealthier classes, and makes it wholly eleemosynary as regards the poorer people.

The mode of raising the necessary funds by contributions from the general revenue is worst of all. It does away altogether with any local control or supervision; it gives the inhabitants no particular interest in the school; it is practically eleemosynary as regards the poorer classes, and the amount is uncertain, as it is dependent on a fluctuating source, unless, indeed, some specific fund could be appropriated to education, when the latter objection would vanish; but even then, unless this special fund should increase in the same ratio as the population, it would not eventually be commensurate with the wants of the community. So much for the first general head. Now as to the nature of the education to be given to the children at the schools. In discussing this, the question of the mode in which the necessary funds are to be raised must first be determined; for if the whole, or a large portion of the amount, is to be raised by voluntary contributions, those who pay must necessarily have the power of deciding as to the nature of the education to be given. In the same way, if the money is to be raised by a local rate, the ratepayers should have the power, subject to certain limitations, of deciding this question; but if money is given out of the general revenue, the Legislature is of course competent to decide upon the conditions under which it is to be issued from the treasury. There are three great classes under which the advocates for education range themselves. 1st. Those who advocate what is called Denominational Schools, that is, schools in which, in addition to secular instruction of the ordinary character, the particular

tenets and doctrines of some church are taught by the schoolmaster. 2nd. Those who adopt what is called in Ireland the National system, which is to a certain extent analogous to that known by the name of the British and Foreign system; by which the Bible, or portions of it, are read and explained in the school, and the general truths of Christianity taught, but by which all catechisms or creeds distinctive of the peculiar tenets of any separate body of Christians are prohibited. 3rd. Those who advocate what is called the secular system; that is, who maintain that the schoolmaster should not be called upon to give religious instruction in any shape, but should confine himself to the communication of such information as is of a purely secular character, on the ground that it is the duty of parents and religious instructors to imbue the child with the principles of the religion they profess. It will be as well to consider the theory of this last class first, as the difference between this and the two former is one of principle, not of degree, while the difference between the two first is one of degree only. Now the first objection which I should make to the secular system, as it is called, is that it practically asserts that the knowledge of religious obligation, which is possessed by the mass of the community at present, is quite adequate to their wants. It is said, 'Leave religion to be taught by the parents and religious instructors;' that is, leave it to be taught as it now is, or rather, if anything, in a worse manner, for now many do learn something in the schools of religious obligation, whereas, were the schools altogether secular in their character, no religious knowledge would be communicated by them. Is it, then, the fact, that the religious instruction afforded by parents and clergymen is adequate? Does not, in point of fact, the very demand that is made for the extension of education negative this? Why is it necessary to educate the population? To give them a knowledge of their duties and responsibilities, to withhold them from crime and from sin. How? By pointing out to them the

awful consequences of crime and of sin, not merely in this world, but in the world to come. Some people say that the principles of morality should be inculcated at schools irrespective of religion; but how is morality to be enforced if you suppress altogether the motive which is to induce a man to conduct himself properly? if you put out of view the religious obligation, the rewards and punishments of a future life? My next objection is that no really conscientious man would accept the office of teacher in a school in which he was prohibited from pressing upon his pupils the nature of the deduction to be made from the conduct of those of whom they happened to be reading. How is a schoolmaster to deal with history, biography, or any of those subjects which involve questions as to the moral conduct of mankind, if he is to be prevented from giving to his pupils the lessons as to their own conduct which history necessarily presents, which indeed constitute its only value? I do not think, either, that any really conscientious man would send his child to a school where the obligations of religion were specially kept out of sight.

My opinion is that were such a system generally adopted, the practical result would be the increase instead of the diminution of immorality and crime.

With regard to the opinions of those who advocate religious instruction, but differ as to the form or mode of communicating it, I am aware that many efforts have been made to prove that the difference between them is one of principle instead of degree; but a very trifling consideration of the subject will show that the parties agrée upon at least ninety points out of every hundred, and differ only on those of secondary importance.

Those who advocate instruction in the general principles of religion, who insist upon the use of the Bible without note or comment, do not go so far as to say that the master should not strive to impress on the children the great truths of the sinfulness of our nature, the greatness and goodness of God, and His love for us, the necessity

of a mediator between God and man, the advent of Christ as that mediator, the efficacy of His sacrifice, the action of the Holy Spirit on our hearts. They differ with their opponents, the denominationalists, merely as to subordinate points, upon questions as to God's foreknowledge, the mode in which the Spirit acts, &c.; in fact, upon matters which children could not be made in any way to comprehend. So, with the denominationalists, they insist upon the communication to the children, in common with the simpler and plainer truths of Christianity, of certain dogmas, the truth of which I am not disposed either to assert or to contradict, but which I may fairly say that children could not by any possibility comprehend.

I should gladly, therefore, see the two parties come to such an understanding as was done in Holland, by the three sects of Roman Catholics, Calvinists, and Lutherans, who, instead of deciding as to the points on which they differed, went into an investigation of those on which they agreed; and then decided that these were to be taught in the general schools, while the points on which they disagreed, which were few in number, should be left to the clergy of the different churches.

There is one subordinate consideration which, however, is a matter of importance—and that is, the mode in which schoolmasters are to be provided. The whole system of education is dependent upon the character of the individual masters, and the universal experience of Europe goes to prove, that unless each country possesses institutions capable of training these masters, any system of education must prove a failure. I need hardly express my own entire assent to this, or say that, looking at the subject in a much lower point of view, as an economical arrangement, I am convinced that it would be found, in the long run, much cheaper to train up our own children as masters and teachers, than to trust to the chance of

procuring proper men from England, where, it must be recollected, there are not many properly educated for their profession, and for those that are so trained, if they are worth anything, there is ample employment and remuneration.

I send you Kay's book on the 'Education of the Poor;' you will find the subject very clearly treated. I have marked many passages which will serve to show the mode in which European nations have dealt with the questions we are now discussing, and I confess I think that we should act more wisely in adopting the conclusions to which men of talent and learning have arrived, than in trying to cut and carve out a system for ourselves, based upon the very limited experience which we can possibly possess.

I have written this in a hurry, but on reading it over, I do not find anything to strike out, though much that I should like to say. However, I will spare you any more reading, only assuring you that the interest I take in the question is not that of a partisan of any scheme, but that of a man sincerely desirous of promoting the best interests of the growing generation. You can make any use you like of this letter.

Yours truly,

W. DENISON.

PETER FRASER, Esq.

Extract from Journal.

Hobart Town, September 27, 1853.

Dearest ——,—Last Saturday we had several people at dinner; and as there were some amongst them who were very credulous on the subject, we tried the table-turning experiment in the evening; for since the arrival of the last English mail, people have gone mad upon that subject here too; and they declare that a table, when once it gets into this excited state, will not only turn, but

move up and down certain numbers of times, and thus give correct answers to any questions that may be asked it, wherein numbers are concerned. For my own part, I was quite prepared (with the assistance of what we had been reading of Professor Faraday's experiments, showing the cause of the supposed phenomenon), not to expect anything very surprising; and now my only wonder is that anybody's credulity can stand the test of seeing the experiments performed; to me it appears that if one was ever so much disposed to believe beforehand, one sight of the performance would destroy one's credulity altogether, the whole thing looks so truly absurd when one comes to see it done. However, it is a capital device for helping to pass off a dull evening party; it creates talk and laughter, and I really think it will be worth introducing again for the same purpose. It was a most laughable sight. After a great deal of coaxing and persuasion, and waiting so long that I thought the patience of the performers was much the most wonderful part of the whole business, the table was at last induced to move a very little, and then to tilt itself up on one side, to answer questions; and, when once started, on it went, turning, rising, and making most egregious mistakes in its answers to the questions put to it, all to the high delight of its determined admirers, who were just as well satisfied, and as full of wonder, as if every answer had been a correct one! We have tried, once or twice, ourselves, and with a smaller party, but we can never produce any result whatever; which looks rather as if it was a trick; not that I think it is a trick in all cases, but incline to Professor Faraday's explanation.

December 8.—Great lamentations are going on among the community at large here, owing to the fact, which has long been decided on in our own minds, but which is only now becoming palpable to the rest of the Hobart Town world, viz., that we do not intend to give a Christ-

mas ball this year. I am sorry to disappoint them; sorry for our own children too, and sorry for myself; for, besides the pleasure I had in seeing the evident enjoyment which that ball gave, I should have liked, if we are shortly to go away, to have gone off in the full blaze of my popularity, which these juvenile balls have really done much to promote. But the thing is simply impossible; one's necessary expenses have increased so enormously, that for the last two years our life has been one of gradually increasing retrenchments, in order to meet, as far as possible, the difficulties of the times. First we did away with all balls, except the official one on the Queen's birthday, which is partly paid for by Government, and our own Christmas one; then, we reduced our stable establishment; next we drew in our hospitalities, in the way of dinners; and still these inexorable prices keep increasing on our hands, so now the Christmas ball must go, because, of course, we do not wish to retrench anything in what is really important.

We received a box the other day from England, which though directed to W——, proved not to be for us; it was a most beautiful illustrated catalogue and history of the great Exhibition, in eight or nine immense volumes splendidly bound, presented by Her Majesty's Commissioners to the colony of Van Diemen's Land. It really has been almost as pleasant as a box for ourselves, we have had so much amusement in looking over these beautiful books before transferring them to the public library.

13*th*.—A fierce hot wind; the first we have had this summer, and it has been a pretty severe one, for we have been panting and languishing even indoors, where we can generally keep pretty cool. I have been amused to watch the operations of our gardener, who, having only been transported from England within this year, (he is a convict) has never seen an Australian summer; and we, thinking he could not be prepared for any-

thing like the excessive dryness, have given him repeated warnings of the necessity and the difficulty of keeping one's garden sufficiently moist to have anything like a succession of flowers. He is a professed gardener, and, to do him justice, a very good one; but he seemed, I thought, professor-like, so confident in his own powers, that I was anxious he should see such a specimen of our summer weather as might astonish him a little. However, he has appeared nothing daunted to-day; and I have really admired the spirited contest he has kept up with the unpropitious elements, for he seems to have done nothing the whole day but water. In the early morning, and in the fiercest of the sun and hot wind, when it seemed to me that the water must dry up as fast as it fell, there he has been keeping up an incessant shower, always a watering-pot or a hose in his hand; with what success remains to be proved. Rumours are rife in the town about our approaching movements: some say we are going down to Eagle Hawk Neck, in order to be out of the way when our successor arrives; others, that W—— is to go immediately as Governor to Victoria, but that I am going home to England with the children. A likely story!! and, in short, everybody knows more of our affairs than we know ourselves.

To Mrs. Denison.

Hobart Town, December 24, 1853.

My dearest Mother,—I am in daily expectation of the arrival of the October mail, which I believe will bring me out some notification of the course which the Government will adopt towards me: from E——s last letter to me, I infer that I am to move, but I have no notion as to the whereabouts. The people, that is, the influential people, in Victoria, are anxious that I should be sent to relieve Latrobe. I confess I should not object to take charge of the Government of Victoria, as I feel convinced that I

could do much good there in every way; however, I shall take contentedly whatever the Government may please to give me. I shall be very glad to leave this place, which is every day becoming more uncomfortable as a place of residence. The gold and the cessation of transportation combined have deprived us of labour, and means of taking advantage of the high prices which now rule here. The prices are just as high as they are in the other colonies, and we lack the advantages which they have in getting an influx of immigrants, from whom we can select servants and others. The rate of wages is increasing daily, and I see no chance of a decrease. The cost of living is now much greater than in England, I should say, nearly double. At all events 600*l.* in England will go as far as 1,000*l.* here, and, as prices are rising rapidly, I think, before many months are out, the 600*l.* will be equal to 1,200*l.* The weather has been extraordinarily dry, and the consequence is a falling off, not only in the grass and grain crops generally, but also in those upon which we depend more particularly, such as potatoes and onions. Hay is now 28*l.* per ton, with every prospect of an increase to 40*l.* per ton, for although it is now raining, this will do no good to the grain crops, which are all in ear: it will be a benefit to my potatoes and onions, but in many instances the potatoes have rotted in the ground, and I should not be surprised, were 20*l.* to 30*l.* per ton to be given for potatoes. This will show that these colonies are by no means good places for men who have not some profitable occupation; there is ample employment for men who can labour with their hands, for men who have some knowledge of mechanics or civil engineering; but for men who can only work with their heads there is but little opening, I mean for the speculative or the indolent; there is every opening for the active and energetic.

I mentioned in my last letter that we intended to take our children down to the sea for a few weeks. We had

made up our minds to go there early in January, but I am obliged to be present at a regatta on the 4th; then the people are going to give me a public dinner, to celebrate the opening of the new market-place which I have built for them; then there are the races, so that I hardly know when I shall be able to escape. The new market-place is a really handsome building: it is, I believe, the finest market-place in the southern hemisphere, and the idea is, that 1,000 people will sit down to dinner on the day of the opening, for the purpose of establishing a sort of fusion of parties, and getting rid of the quarrels arising from the discussions relative to transportation. All parties have put their names down as subscribers, even those most bitterly opposed to me, so that it will be a pleasant mode of winding up my Government here, should I be recalled or sent elsewhere.

CHAPTER VII.

LIFE AT EAGLE HAWK NECK—A BOLTER OUT—FIRE IN HOBART TOWN—FLOODS—RUMOURS OF WAR WITH RUSSIA—PLANS FOR DEFENCE—LANDING OF WILD CATTLE—FAST DAY ON ACCOUNT OF WAR WITH RUSSIA—COLLECTION FOR WIDOWS AND ORPHANS OF SOLDIERS—APPOINTMENT TO GOVERNORSHIP OF NEW SOUTH WALES—FAREWELL VISIT TO LAUNCESTON—OPINIONS ON FEDERATION OF COLONIES—FRESH DISTURBANCES IN VICTORIA—EMBARKATION OF TROOPS—RUMOUR OF THE FALL OF SEBASTOPOL—COMMISSION AS GOVERNOR-GENERAL—FAREWELL ADDRESS FROM BOYS AT THE ORPHAN SCHOOL—INAUGURATION AS MEMBER OF THE ODD FELLOWS SOCIETY—LETTER ON ABOLITION OF GOLD DIGGERS' LICENSE FEE—ARRIVAL AND SWEARING IN OF SIR HENRY YOUNG—FAREWELL TO HOBART TOWN—ARRIVAL AT SYDNEY.

To Mrs. Denison.

Eagle Hawk Neck, January 13, 1854.

My Dearest Mother,—Here we are, L—— and self and nine children and three servants, squeezed up into a little cottage on the sea shore of Pirate's Bay. The cottage consists of six rooms of moderate size, that is, about fourteen feet square, one bit cut off from a passage, about five feet by six, which is used as a dressing room by me, a kitchen of small dimensions, and a sort of store room by the side, in which my two boys sleep. This would not appear to offer much comfort, but the barracks are close at hand, in which reside a soldier and his wife, who act as cook, housemaid, and general factotums. My man-servant sleeps there, and I have a boat's crew of convicts who cut wood for us, fetch water, and take us out fishing, &c., so that in point of fact, we are very fairly comfortable, with the single exception that there are other tenants of the building besides ourselves, who are not pleasant companions. The girls awoke last night, and having

got a light from the next room, killed no less than twenty-six large snails or slugs, which had crept through the joints of the floor. There are also more disagreeable companions in the shape of cockroaches and bugs. The weather is beautiful; there is a splendid beach extending all round the Bay, several sights to be seen in the immediate vicinity, shells to be picked up, fish to be caught; so that we give up a large portion of the day to out-of-door amusements, which, with the sea air, is telling already on the appetites of the younger children, for whose health I came here. I take charge of the four older children, and I enjoy this, the most perfect holiday I have had since I have been in the colony, very much like a school-boy. I have to go up to Hobart Town next week, to be present at a dinner to be given to me at the opening of the new market-place. I am in hopes that, before the 20th (the day of the dinner), I shall have some despatches giving me information about my departure from hence. It will be a good opportunity for me to make this known, and I should be able to say my say to the people with far greater effect, were I known to be actually on the move, than I could, were my departure only a probability.

Monday, 16.—The weather continues very fine, and we have had some capital scrambles over the rocks, which are remarkably bold and magnificent. As they are all stratified nearly horizontally, and intermixed with veins of softer material, there are ledges upon which one can walk at low water actually into the chasms left by the washing away of the softer material. L—— and the children are unluckily such martyrs to sea-sickness that they are not able to enjoy any sights which are to be seen from a boat, and coast scenery of this magnificent kind can hardly be seen to advantage by any other means.

My correspondence with G—— has not led me to take a very hopeful view of the condition of the Church of

England, or of the permanence of its connection with the State. The Church, in the more correct sense of the term, will probably derive a benefit from the disconnection. It will lose all those who now hang on to its skirts because it is '*Established*,' but it will retain all those who are members from conviction, who adhere to it from a faith in its doctrine, and a feeling that its form of government is better than any of those abortions which spring from the fancy of some crack-brained enthusiast like Irving. Let the Church be left to its own unassisted energies, and I should not despair of its absorbing again the Wesleyans and others who have been driven from its bosom by mere questions of Church Government. In order to this, however, the whole body of the Church, laity as well as clergy, must take action in all matters connected with its organisation and development; there is room for the action of all, and until all will feel an interest, and will think of themselves as members, and working members, of the body, such results can hardly be hoped for.

I trust that you will not think me lax upon points either of doctrine or of Church Government, or that my opinions proceed from religious indifference. On the contrary, I can with truth affirm that my sense of the importance of religion, not as a mere state engine, but as a matter of individual concern, is enhanced from day to day: my prayers become more earnest, my conviction of my own unworthiness more deep; my trust in God more confident and sure. It is, I think, my conviction of the injury done to the cause of religion by their quarrels about matters of such very secondary importance which has led me to stand completely aloof from all parties. I belong neither to High Church or Low Church, Broad Church or Narrow Church, looking upon all as equally in the wrong in placing stumbling-blocks in the way of the simple believer in Christ.

Your affectionate Son,

W. D.

Extracts from Journal.

Eagle Hawk Neck, Van Diemen's Land, January 14, 1854.

Dearest ——,— I mentioned in my last letter that we were on the eve of coming here for the sake of a little change of air, and last Thursday we transferred ourselves hither accordingly. Our voyage down occupied about seven hours; rather slow, but the steamer is a slow one at best; and when we turned into Norfolk Bay, we encountered a strong breeze from the south-east right against us, which did not serve to make our progress either quicker or pleasanter. Our life here is somewhat of a scrambling one; there was no furniture in the cottage; we have had to bring everything down with us: there are no inhabitants in this place except the guard of soldiers at the Neck (some of whom have their wives and children with them), and one or two constables and policemen; the neck being the only land outlet from the penal stations on Tasman's Peninsula, and the sole object of having inhabitants here at all being to prevent the escape of convicts. The house we are in is, properly, the habitation of the officer who commands the detachment; but he is now quartered at Port Arthur, so the cottage is vacant. Of course, in so uninhabited a place, there is nothing to be bought: some of our provisions we brought down with us,—meat and bread are supplied periodically when the supplies are sent for the soldiers, and butter is to be sent to us from our farm at home, every time the steamer comes down.

January 17.—I begin to like being here rather better than I did at first; we have had a delightful day to-day among the rocks and blowholes at the further end of the bay. The blowhole, *par excellence*, is really a fine sight; a curious hole in the rocks, through which the waves come roaring with a noise like distant guns firing, and burst into daylight at the end with a force

that seems to shake the rocks around, and I suppose really *does* shake them, for it is evidently undermining and wearing them away. At the inland entrance of the hole, you can only stand on the rocks above, and watch the waves coming roaring and bounding through; but at the outer entrance towards the sea, you can, at low water, creep into the cavern for some distance, along a ledge of rock, which goes about half way through, and this is what we did to-day.

January 20.—I am left alone here with the children to-day, for W—— is gone to town to be present at a great public dinner, this evening, in the new market-place. He is gone rather against his will, for he has no love for great dinners; and I have parted with him much against *mine*, for it is very lonely here without one's other self; but it is unavoidable. It has been a long promise to the Corporation and townspeople that he should attend this dinner, which, indeed, is partly given in his honour, as it is to celebrate the opening of the new market, which has been planned by him. When we came to Hobart Town, there was nothing but a miserable, untidy-looking market-place, and, at the same time, there was a large piece of ground in the town, most conveniently situated for one, entirely vacant. 'There,' W—— used sometimes to say to me, as we passed by the place in our walks, 'is where I should like to build a new market;' and he pursued the idea, gave the outlines of the design,—and there now stands what is acknowledged to be the handsomest and most commodious market-place in the southern hemisphere! W—— talks of being down here again to-morrow, and I hope he may; but I do not think the little steamer, in which he goes and comes, is quite to be depended on. Her boilers are old and leaky; report says they always leak when the engineer wants a rest and a holiday; so I am afraid they will to-morrow, as I suspect he (the engi-

neer) will hardly like such an amount of work as going up one day, and coming down the very next.

January 22.—The boiler did *not* leak, after all; and the good man returned here yesterday evening, at an earlier hour than I had ventured to expect him. On Friday afternoon, (the day he went away), I walked along the beach with some of the children, to a certain rock which is a favourite point of ours, because the waves beat upon it so finely; and just as we had reached it, we saw a man coming along the beach to meet us, whom we soon perceived to be one of the soldiers from the guard at the Neck, for he had military trousers on, but a rough blue blouse over them, instead of his uniform, which gave him a very nondescript appearance. He made a sort of half pause as he passed me, as if inclined to speak, but then thought better of it, and went on; however, I soon saw him stop, and speak to Mary, who had lingered a few yards behind, picking up shells, and she then came up, and told me that his communication had been, 'It is not very safe for you to be along the shore here to-day, because there is a *bolter out*!!' I guessed what this meant, but, being anxious to hear more, we turned back, and soon overtook the man, who was loitering slowly along, and peeping up into every little ravine that came down to the shore; and then I asked him whether he meant that there was an escaped convict anywhere in the neighbourhood. He said, 'Yes; and that it was pretty certain, from the time that had passed since his escape, that he would reach the Neck to-night, if he was not captured beforehand.' 'And are you sent here to watch for him?' I asked. 'No, Ma'am,' said the man, with a *naïveté* that rather amused me, 'I am only looking out for my own interest, you see, because we get a reward of two pounds if we apprehend him, but they are so desperate sometimes, that it takes two or three men to master them, unless one was to kill him on the spot,

which of course one would not *quite like* to do!' I did not exactly see, after all, what danger the children or I had to apprehend from a man whose interest it would so evidently be to avoid our observation: however, as I perceived that my friend had a pistol in his hand, I concluded that he anticipated a fray, and thinking it desirable to be out of the way of that, at all events, I thanked him for his information, and hastened home with the children; and the next morning we heard that our friend had not been the lucky man, after all, for that the poor wretched prisoner had been captured before he reached the Neck, and quite on the other side of it from the beach. I confess I was relieved to hear he was caught; for though my reason told me there was no real danger, situated as this house is, I could not help thinking it rather unlucky that the only night I was alone in the house should be the one in which there had been any likelihood of our having so unpleasant a neighbour as a bushranger. Though I had no nocturnal adventure here, W—— had rather a severe one in town; but of this in its proper place. I must first tell you that he reached town about three o'clock in the afternoon, and found everybody looking out for him. The dinner was at seven o'clock, and it seems to have gone off very well; W—— was warmly received, greatly eulogised, of course, by some of the speakers, and his own speeches much applauded. Men of all parties in colonial politics were present at this dinner, and all seemed very harmonious; and the dear, good man made a very pretty speech in returning thanks when my health was drunk, which has pleased me much. He got home at a reasonable hour, went to bed, and was roused between two and three o'clock in the morning by Spreadborough, with the intelligence that all Elizabeth Street was on fire! Spreadborough had been awakened by a loud explosion, which made her at first imagine there were thieves in the house,

with fire-arms; but running into one of the front rooms to look out, she perceived a most awful conflagration in the town; and presently, a poor, terrified woman, the wife of our baker, came to the door with her two little children, flying in terror from the fire, and saying that, as she knew our house was empty, she had come up to ask if she and her children might be taken in there till morning. Of course this was immediately done; and while Spreadborough looked after the poor woman and children, W—— went to the scene of action, where I suspect his presence was very useful, as the people who were working at the fire appeared to be in want of some directing head; and there he stayed for the next two hours. Happily, no lives have been lost; but the destruction of property has been very great indeed. The explosion Spreadborough heard was occasioned by the fire reaching some gunpowder in one of the shops, or, at least, in a storehouse. How the fire originated is not known.

Hobart Town, February 27.—The long-desired rain has come at last, and with such violence that, though it only set in yesterday, the town is already flooded in a way that has hardly ever been known here before.[1] One reason of this, I believe, is, that the Corporation were not sufficiently watchful, and allowed a great portion of the débris of last month's fire to lie choking up the little stream which flows down from Mount Wellington through the town; and thus the torrent which rushed down that stream this morning, being partly deprived of its natural outlet, overflowed, and has done much damage. Just after prayers this morning, there came a ring at the door bell, and W——, who happened to be in the hall, thinking it no fit weather to keep anybody standing outside, opened the door himself, and disclosed to view the dripping figure of a certain Dr.

[1] Eight inches of rain fell between Sunday morning and Monday evening.

C——, whose house abuts on the end of a bridge over the little stream before mentioned, and who, in the greatest haste, explained that he had run up here to ask for help, for that the aforesaid timbers, &c. remaining from the fire, had so choked up the bridge that there was every appearance of the bridge itself being blown up in a few minutes. It pleases me to see how people always come to W—— when there is anything to be done; he seems to be the general helper and referee; and he instantly wrote off to the Prisoners' Barracks an order for some men to be sent to the rescue; and they were soon on the spot. W—— himself went to the scene of action after breakfast, and was there for a long time, busy directing and superintending; he came home thoroughly wet, and gave us a very interesting but really awful account of all the casualties that had taken place; the most melancholy of which was that he had actually seen one of the poor prisoners swept away by the torrent, and drowned, and there was no possibility of rescuing him. Report says that two other prisoners, and one free man, were drowned in the course of the day, but I hope this is not true. Dr. C—— himself, who had come to give us the alarm, had a narrow escape; his foot slipped, and he found himself sinking into a hole, the water washing away every morsel of soil on which his foot could rest; and he was only rescued by W—— and two others making a sort of chain, hand in hand, and all pulling him out by main strength.

March 24.—The day before yesterday, there was a heavy downfall of rain again, which produced a more awful flood than the last. While we were at breakfast the following morning, two or three men came in, one after another, like Job's messengers, with tidings of the rapid rise of the flood, and the danger of Wellington Bridge, and petitions to W—— for speedy help. He did just what he did the time before, viz. sent off a hasty order to the Penitentiary for some gangs of convicts; and

then set off himself for the scene of action in the midst of a drenching rain. Wellington Bridge stood, after all, though it is somewhat shaken and injured; but two or three other bridges are entirely washed away, and the timber, &c. from them, floating down, choked up the remaining bridges, and added to the mischief. It was to clear away these floating timbers that the gangs of prisoners were wanted; but soon the danger became so great, that not only the prisoners, but the soldiers, were sent out to help to save lives and property; boats, in one or two cases, were taking people out of their upper windows and removing goods, &c., and the force of the stream was so great that it seemed next to impossible to rescue anybody who once got into the water. One poor man was drowned in this way, and the prisoners all worked with ropes round their waists, by which their comrades and the bystanders might pull them out, if they once missed their footing. About the middle of the day it cleared up; and certainly I never saw a more wonderful instance of the changeableness of this climate, and the dryness of the soil. By half-past two in the afternoon there was dry walking in many of the streets; and it was as warm and fine a day as ever shone. Then we went round to see the amount of damage done. It was really an awful sight: the creek, such a tiny stream in general, was a raging, foaming torrent, and when we came up to it, we found men standing on its banks, watching for the body of the drowned man, which they expected to see washed up. There was a crowd coming up the street, surrounding another man who had been picked out of the water in a most wonderful way by a soldier, and who was being supported along by two others. There were remains of half-demolished buildings in all directions: in one place I saw, what had a very strange effect, the roof and one upper window in the back part of a house left standing, supported, I suppose, by its connection with the

front, while all below it was washed away. The window looked indescribably strange: there it hung fixed in its place, its little blind and window-curtain all tidy inside, and nothing below it or inside except the curtain and blind, for the room it had belonged to was quite gone. The streets were swarming with people in a great state of excitement, walking and looking about them; and here and there were soldiers and prisoners, &c. baling and pumping water out of the cellars of houses. To-day we have taken a more complete round, looking at the same things; for though the creek has subsided, little or nothing has been done towards repairing the damages.

To R. Dry, Esq., Speaker of Legislative Assembly.

Government House, April 27, 1854.

My dear Dry,—You are aware, I have no doubt, that in the communications which I have made to the Secretary of State on the subject of the constitution of the Legislature of this colony, I have always tried to impress upon the Government the advisability of constituting a legislative body consisting of two chambers, and have at the same time expressed my opinion of the inexpediency of any interference on the part of the Government with the appointment of the members of either of those bodies. In August 1848, I wrote to Lord Grey on this subject, and again in December 1849; and latterly I have written to the Duke of Newcastle, informing him that the conviction on my part of the correctness of the views I had before expressed, had been strengthened by a knowledge of what had taken place in these colonies. The problem, then, of the constitution of a second chamber has, as you may imagine, occupied my attention for some time past; and as the Council may soon have to solve it, I will give you the result of the consideration which I have bestowed on the subject. In order,

however, that the whole process by which I have arrived at the formation of a definite opinion on the subject may be made clear to you, I may as well state that the principal motives which induce me to advocate the formation of an Upper Chamber are the security afforded by it against hasty or class legislation, and against collisions between the Legislative and the Executive. It is probable also that property would be more fully represented in the Upper than in the Lower Chamber, and I should wish to see the Upper Chamber looked upon as representing the colony at large, and to enhance the distinction thus conferred upon its members by every means in our power. Having premised this, I presume that the qualification of the constituents of the members of the Upper Chamber will be higher than that now required for the Council, namely, 10*l.* household occupation, which is, in point of fact, household suffrage; but I should not wish to see such a marked difference made as might lead to jealousies on the part of those excluded, or so high a rate of franchise as might unduly narrow the constituency, and make it appear that the upper chamber was the representative of a class, and not that of the property and intellect of the colony. Supposing, then, the electoral roll to be drawn out and revised, how should the election be conducted? And on this the principle of my scheme turns. I propose that each elector should be addressed individually by the clerk of the Executive Council (I say the clerk of the Executive Council, merely as being a permanent officer), and requested to name *a single* individual as a member of the upper chamber. The reply should be returned within a given period, endorsed in some particular manner, but it should not be opened until all the answers are returned, and then formally by the Lieutenant-Governor in the Executive Council, the judges being present. The papers being opened, a return, of the names of those proposed as members should be made, with the number of votes for each; and the twelve or fifteen who have the

highest number of suffrages should be declared to be members of the second chamber. No notice should be taken publicly of the number of votes given to each member,—nothing should be done to establish any distinction between them,—they should stand on the proud distinction of having been elected by the intellect and property of the country, as its proper representatives. I should not impose any limitation upon or qualification for the persons to be elected. I should not exclude any individuals or any class, but having established the constituency, leave to each member of it to select one proper person as his representative, and I feel quite certain that by such means you will attain a greater security against the election of improper persons than you could possibly hope to do by property qualifications, a scheme which is always open to objection, and which is sure to form a weak point, and one liable to attack in any remark upon the system of representation adopted. I propose to limit the number of votes given by each elector to *one*, for the express purpose of securing, in the first place, the exercise of his unbiassed judgment, and in the second, of rendering the introduction of a property qualification unnecessary. Tell an elector that he is to return one name, and he will look around him and elect the most competent person in his neighbourhood or among his acquaintance. Tell him to give a list of a dozen names, and he will either be reduced to put a number down at hazard, to adopt a list transmitted to him containing the names of many of whom he can know nothing, or to omit to fill up the whole number; three alternatives, all objectionable, though not perhaps equally so. Another advantage accruing from the system of giving a single vote will be the absence of all canvassing, or of any steps which might bring angry and antagonistic feelings into play, by which the *prestige* which should attach to the Members of the Upper House may be

affected injuriously. I could point out many other advantages which this system appears to me to present, but my time is running short, as Archer has informed me that the committee intend to bring up their report in a day or two. I have therefore written hastily what I consider enough to give you a clear idea of the scheme proposed, in order that you might have an opportunity of considering it before any distinct expression of opinion may have been given which might seem to pledge the members to something positive and definite.

Believe me, yours very truly,

W. DENISON.

Extract from Journal.

Hobart Town, May 1, 1854.

My dear ——,—Though without anything particular to tell, a wet afternoon, and the consciousness of having finished my last volume of journal three days ago, prompt me to begin a letter to you. The February mail from England is not in yet, but a sailing vessel has made the voyage to Melbourne in sixty-nine days; and though she carried no mail, she has, of course, brought out the public news, by which it would seem that we really are going to war with the Russians, after all. People here are rather in a fright about it, and have visions of a Russian frigate or steamer, coming into this and the neighbouring colonies in quest of gold, and carrying off all they can find of money in the banks, &c.! so they are all anxiety to have some means of defending themselves; and W—— (though he does not think the above-named catastrophe at all likely to happen), yet, for the sake of providing against possibilities and quieting alarm, has schemed out a plan by which, at but small expense, he can put the place quite in a position to resist any sudden inroad of the sort. He mentioned the subject of defences in his speech on opening the session, and the suggestion gave general satis-

faction, and the Council readily voted the money for carrying out his plans. His idea is to enrol and train a volunteer company of artillery, and to place a variety of small batteries, dotted about in so many places, that one or more of them could always be brought to bear on a ship in any position she could take; while, on the other hand, it would be quite impossible for her to bring her broadside to bear on all of them. One of these little batteries is in course of erection in the paddock close by this house! But you may be sure I have expressed my hope that the volunteer artillerymen in course of education may not be sent to practise there, at all events! W——'s plan comprises a system of signals, by which he could have notice of the approach of an enemy in sufficient time to get his batteries manned; &c. We shall have some 'skarts on our crags, to skirl when foul weather comes,' as it is expressed by Edie Ochiltree.

May 10.—Since I wrote last, we have received our February letters: M—— talks of the high prices in England, with bread at nearly a shilling a loaf; and I suppose that is very high for Old England, though we here should now be very glad to get it at the same; for our quartern loaf is 1*s.* 5*d.*; and a man who had taken a contract to supply the Colonial Hospital with milk at 1*s.* 6*d.* a quart, has offered 100*l.* to be let off his contract, which only lasts till the end of next month. That is to say, he calculates that he shall lose more than 100*l.* by selling milk for two months at eighteen-pence a quart! What do you think of that for a specimen of high prices? And most other things are raised in the same, or even a greater proportion; so dear Old England, 'in spite of war *and free trade*,' as M—— says, is still the cheaper country of the two!

To Colonel Harness, R.E.

Government House, Hobart Town, June 7, 1854.

My dear Harness,—The four volumes of the 'Academy Course,' which you intrusted to Sandham in August, 1853, arrived a few days ago in a box of ordnance stores, or stationery for the engineer department. I had not been aware that you had been called upon to make such a compilation, but I am very glad that it was placed in the hands of an Engineer, and I know no one better qualified than yourself for the task. I have not had time to do more than cast a glance, and a very hasty glance, over the volumes, and were I to go into a closer inspection of them, my opinion would not go for much. I may ask, however, whether, in a wish to make the cadets acquainted with the use of certain mathematical tools, the object of a mathematical training of the mind has not been, to a certain extent, kept in the background. I look upon the study of mathematics in a double point of view; first, as a training of the intellect or reasoning powers (in which it is so far superior to the logic of the schools, that it deals with realities in the shape of forms, instead of with words by which such realities are but weakly expressed); secondly, as a most useful tool, without dexterity in the application of which the philosopher cannot advance many steps in his investigations. Now the first is the most important result of the study of mathematics, and it can only be obtained by a thorough knowledge of geometry: upon this foundation you may raise the superstructure of an analytical system, if this be not an abuse of terms, but, without geometrical knowledge, the acquaintance which a man gets with the science is but confined; he has the tools, and uses them after a sort, like a rough carpenter, but you will never make him a good mechanic. For my part, I bitterly regret the time I wasted at Woolwich; I have been a very

indifferent mechanic in consequence, and it was a sense of my own deficiencies which led me to press upon the authorities some twenty years ago, when the subject was referred to me by the Master-General of the Ordnance, the necessity of some radical change in the system pursued. . . . . Remember me to all your children, and all old friends.

Yours truly,
W. DENISON.

Extract from Journal.

Hobart Town, June 26, 1854.

'The "Queen of the South" is in! The steamer has the English mail on board! Twenty-eight bags! Declaration of war!' Such were the words that greeted us on Saturday afternoon (the day before yesterday), as we walked along the wharf, watching the incoming of our colonial steamer from Melbourne, to which place we believed the expected 'Queen of the South' would have brought the mails for the whole of these colonies. You may imagine how welcome these tidings were, all but the last; for the wait for this mail has been peculiarly trying; so we hastened home, longing for our letters, and in full expectation of soon receiving them. Imagine our feelings, then, when, about an hour after, Colonel Last and Mr. Wilmot came in with the news that the whole twenty-eight bags contained nothing but newspapers! All the despatches and letters had apparently been sent by some other conveyance! It was a blow, as we were very anxious for further home news. That declaration of war, too! It was no more than one expected, and felt to be almost inevitable; but still the announcement is a very sad one, when one comes to think of all that it means; and there was something almost awful in hearing in church yesterday the prayer 'in time of war,' such an unaccustomed sound in our days.

We all become politicians, to a certain extent, in these

times, and nurse, who was formerly wont to call baby 'a little Turk,' as a sort of term of fond reproach, when he put himself in a passion, or in any way misbehaved, was overheard the other day, under similar circumstances, calling him 'a Russian!'

June 27.—Some of the missing letters have turned up, and a bag of despatches came at the same time. It contained a pardon for Smith O'Brien and those of his associates who remain here, and for Frost and Williams, the Chartists. These two last deserve it as far as they can do by good conduct during their imprisonment: this can hardly be said for Smith O'Brien and Co. Smith O'Brien means to be off to-morrow by the steamer which takes this.

To Mrs. Denison.

Government House, June 27, 1854.

My dearest Mother,—I will not let the steamer go off without a letter, though what has become of my letters by the March and April mails I cannot say. I can only hope that the whole of my correspondence may have been put on board a vessel professing to come direct to Hobart Town, and thus have been delayed. I have got a bag of despatches, but none which give me any inkling of my future movements. I have received the pardons for Smith O'Brien and his companions. The former has taken advantage of his to go to Victoria, where a set of rabid Irishmen are preparing an address to him, and are striving to make his release a sort of triumph. I have written to Sir Charles Hotham, pointing out the inconsistency of a set of people who make it penal to a man holding a conditional pardon to appear in Victoria, asking a man holding such a pardon as this to come over and be fêted; and I have asked him to release all the unfortunates who have, by the above law, been sentenced to hard labour in irons.

The actual proclamation of war with Russia, which we received by this mail, has not produced any effect upon us; we exhausted our fears in anticipations, and have none left for the reality. The people at Melbourne and Sydney are forming rifle corps, &c., though there is not the shadow of a chance that an enemy would dream of landing at either place. I have constructed some batteries, and am training the police to act as gunners.

Extracts from Journal.

July 24, 1854.

Dearest ——,—On Saturday last we proposed taking a long walk with the four older children to a place called Cornelian Bay; but our plans were cut short at the very outset by an exciting adventure with a herd of bullocks. There exists a really dangerous practice here of landing cattle (quite wild from the Port Phillip bush) and driving them over the Domain, and through the town at all hours of the day. Some years ago, W—— endeavoured to put a stop to the practice, by proposing the erection of new Government slaughter-houses, in a convenient spot near to the river side, so that the creatures could be landed close to where they were to be killed, and only the dead meat be carried through the town; but our sapient Legislative Council would not hear of the scheme; (for what reason I know not, perhaps they do not know themselves); so wild cattle are still to be encountered in the thoroughfares occasionally, and one or two bad accidents have happened in consequence. You may be sure, therefore, that we always keep carefully on our guard.

On Saturday we had just entered the Domain, when we saw a whole herd of these creatures at a distance. We took refuge behind the railings of the engineer's office; but being presently summoned thence by W——, who had remained outside to reconnoitre, we concluded that they had passed away. However, we had no sooner

got out on the open hill, than we saw them bearing down upon us again. W—— suggested our taking refuge in the newly erected battery, and so we did, and climbed to the top of what is to be the powder magazine, helped up by a man who had already taken refuge there, and who urged us to make haste, for there was a bullock close by. Once up on this point of elevation, the scene became really amusing; peeping in at one of the embrasures stood a bullock, perfectly unmoved, though two or three men and boys were pelting him from the inside with stones and clods. By-and-bye the plot thickened; more bullocks were landed, and more people hastened to the battery for refuge; so that the top of the magazine was soon covered with people, with a sort of advanced guard of men and boys, pelting away the bullocks as they successively advanced. Amongst these, our two eldest boys were very active, and highly delighted; for a boy has certainly an instinctive pleasure in pelting anything alive. One man maintained a most laughable running fight from behind a corner of the battery, rushing out, throwing a few stones, then being charged by the bullocks, and tearing back to his shelter, in an agony of haste. At last he sent two dogs to the fight, one of which made a most gallant attack, was tossed, but I think not hurt, for he ran away afterwards, but was completely daunted, and appeared no more. Meanwhile, as the bullocks left the neighbourhood of the battery, all sorts of scenes took place lower down in the Domain, but within our sight. One bullock charged into the middle of a gang of convicts returning from work, and scattered them right and left; another made a demonstration of offence at the red coat of a soldier, who instantly disappeared behind some palings, his rapid retreat calling forth a shout of laughter from a party of his comrades, who were at work on the battery. Another bullock pursued a solitary constable and two convicts, and I really was afraid that they would

have been caught, as they had their backs turned, and did not seem aware of its approach. However, they were shouted to by the people on the battery, and at last understood what was coming: the constable and one man ran, the other threw himself with wonderful quickness over the rails of the High School, and no one was hurt. At last the stockmen succeeded in getting the whole herd together, and we descended from our perch; but we had lost too much time to be able then to take our long walk. However, I think something will be done soon towards getting rid of the cattle nuisance, so we shall not have such scenes for long. ...

To Mrs. C. Stanley.

Government House, July 25, 1854.

My dear Mrs. Stanley,—This is the day on which the Council meets after an adjournment of two or three months, and some important matters are coming on, such for instance, as 'the New Constitution,' &c. The Government business is all ready, and gone down to the Council in the shape of eleven messages; and as I am sitting in my office with but little to do, I cannot spend an hour more pleasantly than in giving you an outline of the state of things here. The new constitution has been hatched by Messrs. —— and is a most curious one. They begin by defining the rights of the Queen;—by allowing her to declare war, but not to make peace;—to do this thing and the other, and then they proceed to define their own powers and privileges;—but such a mess have they made of it, that in one clause they state that the Bill must be proclaimed in one month, in another it must be proclaimed in three months. Then they say that the Act is not to come into operation unless the Government at home repeals certain Acts of Parliament, and among these they enumerate the one by which the Supreme Court is constituted; so that, should the Government be weak

enough to accede to their request, and allow the Bill, we shall be for some months either without a Supreme Court at all, or be acting illegally, and murdering every man who may chance to be hanged. However, the feeling, I am happy to say, is pretty strong against the proposed change; and, if any Bill be passed, it will in all probability be of a much milder type than this. The aspect of affairs, though we have not yet quite recovered from the stimulus given by the gold discoveries, is gradually toning down to the ordinary state of colonial existence; people are beginning to have an idea that 'all is not gold that glitters;' and there is a sort of glimmering of a conviction breaking in upon them that they have rather made fools of themselves in their anxiety to get rid of one description of labour before they had secured another. I am supplying the Council with population returns which tell a marvellous tale; showing that, since March 1851, when the census was taken, we have actually lost 10,000 adult males; that is, we had at that time 34,000 males above 21 years of age; and we have now about 24,000. Altogether, I do not look very favourably upon our prospects for the next few years: that we shall work our way forward eventually, I dare say; but we have no right to anticipate, as too many do, a continuance of the very extraordinary advantages which have been afforded to us up to the present time. We must reckon upon a period of languor, and even of distress.

I have been trying to stimulate the Church to a little activity. Last year, at the meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, I moved for the appointment of a committee to consider the mode in which laymen could best co-operate in working out the objects of the Church; and, after a good deal of talk, we agreed upon our report. We presented it to the Society, and it was moved that it should be printed and considered at a future meeting.

The High and Low Church feud goes on as bitterly as

ever. I think any attempt at synodical action here would result in a disruption of the Church, and I hardly know whether to deprecate this, or to hail it as an advantage. Anything one would think preferable to the apathy which now prevails among the mass; but the bitter feeling of animosity generated by the splitting up of sects is a fearful evil.

Yours truly,
W. D.

Extract from Journal.

Hobart Town, August 12, 1854.

Dearest ——,—These colonies are, most of them, following the example of England, in proclaiming a day of fasting and prayer on account of the war. Yesterday was *our* day set apart for this purpose; and it pleased me much to see the way in which it was observed here. Everything is interesting which looks as if the colonies sympathised with England, and that seems to be decidedly the case in the present instance. At our church the Bishop preached a very good sermon; and it was really a beautiful sight to see the collection that was made afterwards for the soldiers' wives and children; the interest in it seemed to be so universal. The collection was made in the church, while the Offertory sentences were read, and it was quite a sight to see. One of the collectors was seen returning up the aisle with his hand full of bank-notes,[1] for which he could find no room in the overflowing plate in his other hand. One had to go back to the Communion Table to get his plate emptied, and then start with it afresh; for it was so heaped up that the money was beginning to drop out on the floor; and the result, in that single church, was upwards of 154*l.*: to say nothing of all the other churches in this town, in Launceston,

[1] Most of them, probably, the one pound notes, which were then in circulation in the colony.

and in the country, the whole results of which we cannot yet hear.

Our little L——, who is too young to go to church yet, came into my room while I was putting on my things to go, bringing the only shilling she ever had in her life, and which had been given her only the day before, with a request that I would take it, and put it in for her. I thought this peculiarly disinterested, for there was not even the pleasure of giving it herself, which generally goes for a good deal with a child.

August 14.—I finished my last letter the day before yesterday with an account of *our* war fast-day. A nice little anecdote of the collection in our church I have heard since; a large paper, folded like a letter, was put into one of the plates, and, on being opened, was found to contain 17*l.* 4*s.*; with an inscription stating that it was 'an offering from the non-commissioned officers and privates of the 99th Regiment for the wives and children of those engaged in the war with Russia.' Poor fellows! I call it a noble offering for them, for really a soldier's pay is such a very small matter, especially in an expensive country like this, that I am surprised they could make it up to so much.

The following letters to His Grace the Duke of Newcastle and Sir George Grey refer to a new phase of Vice-regal life, which, having been dimly shadowed out for a time, assumed eventually, in the beginning of September, the substantive form of the Government of New South Wales.

To the Duke of Newcastle.

Government House, September 13, 1854.

My dear Lord,—I trust you will allow me to express my grateful sense of the kindness which prompted your Grace to recommend Her Majesty to appoint me to the

Government of New South Wales, and my earnest hope that, in my administration of the Government of that colony, I may so act as to justify that recommendation. I am well aware that the position in which I have been placed in Van Diemen's Land, where I have been, to a certain extent, compelled to reconcile the apparently conflicting interests of the mother country and the colony, may operate to create a prejudice against me; but as I have, on every occasion, advocated strenuously the adoption of those measures which were, in my opinion, calculated to advance the best interests of the colony, so, I am not afraid but that, by persevering in a similar course in New South Wales, I shall be able to live down any opposition which mere personal or party feeling may engender. Whatever may be the result, however, of my administration, I shall ever feel under the deepest obligation to your Grace, and shall be, as I now am,

Most faithfully yours,

W. DENISON.

To the Right Hon. Sir G. Grey.

Government House, September 13, 1854.

Dear Sir,—In acknowledging your letter of June 28, informing me that Her Majesty had, on the recommendation of His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, appointed me to the Government of New South Wales, I cannot refrain from expressing my grateful sense of the kind manner in which you have alluded to the mode in which I have discharged the duty entrusted to me by Her Majesty in this colony, and my anxious desire that, in the new sphere of duty to which I am about to be called, I may so act as to continue to merit like expressions of approval.

I have the honour to be, dear Sir, your most obedient Servant,

W. DENISON.

Extracts from Journal.

Hobart Town, September 12, 1854.

Now, my own dearest Mammy, I have time (which I had not yesterday) to sit down and have a comfortable talk with you on the subject of which my thoughts have been full ever since last Saturday, the eventful day which brought us the news of our appointment to New South Wales. Dearest Mammy, you will not, I know, think me strange and heartless when I say that the predominant feeling in my mind is of thankfulness for, and satisfaction with, the prospect that is thus opening before us. It is true that, when I read your dear letters, or sit down to answer them; or when any little thing occurs which brings home and home friends more vividly than usual before me, my heart grows very full at the thought of the lengthened separation, and the long time that may yet pass before we can be together again; but then I have never allowed myself to dwell much on the hope of returning home at the end of our term of service in this country; and I think too, that, if we had not taken up this colonial line of life, but had continued in the direct line of W——'s profession, we might equally have been abroad, equally separated from you and from our boys, without any of the comforts and agreeablenesses of our present position. And now as to the honour of the thing for dearest W——: the Duke of Newcastle and Sir George Grey have both written to him, and said pretty things; the former, in announcing his having recommended him to Her Majesty for the appointment, the latter saying that, though he had not the pleasure himself of nominating him, *that* having been already done by the Duke, he fully concurred in the propriety of the appointment, and so on. All this is very gratifying, and it certainly is a very great appointment for so *young* a *governor*. Our friends and supporters here are in a state of great exult-

ation; and when they come to offer their congratulations, the prominent idea in their minds seems to be, 'what a triumph' this is over all his opponents and abusers, who have over and over again prophesied his recall. So it is: but, unfortunately, I feel far too sensible of this already; *wickedly* sensible of it, and far too ready to exult inwardly, so that one really does not need the efforts of injudicious friends to stir up one's bad feelings in this sort of way. There is, of course, a good deal of flattering nonsense talked now about regret at losing us, and so on; and we have received one or two notes of congratulation, which have been absolutely disgusting from their fulsomeness; but, amidst all this, there comes many a gleam of pleasure in the consciousness that *all* the regrets expressed are not of this character. There are several, I am sure, who will sincerely miss us, and I trust I may add, who will have cause to do so; I mean, some to whose happiness we have really had it in our power to contribute.

There was another little source of triumph in last Saturday's despatches, which I think we *may* enjoy innocently, as it is not of a personal nature, and involves the redress of a piece of gross injustice. It is a despatch stating, in answer to W——'s representations on the subject, that orders have been sent to Sir Charles Hotham, the new Governor of Victoria, to release at once all those conditionally pardoned men who were incarcerated there by that most iniquitous act of their Council, the 'Convicts Prevention Bill.' I am very glad that that Council is to be made to understand, that they are not to be allowed to pursue their own will and pleasure, in defiance alike of the Queen's prerogative and the ordinary rules of English liberty.

September 25.—I have been very busy since Saturday, when I closed my last letter; for we have begun our preparations in anticipation of our move, in order to avoid

being bustled at last. Last Monday W—— received a letter from Sir Henry Young, the Governor of South Australia, saying, that, from information he had received from home, he was led to believe that he was to succeed us here.

October 9.—The Mayor and Corporation are coming this afternoon to present an address to W—— on the subject of his approaching departure; it is somewhat lengthy, and of course laudatory, but not quite well drawn up. I have seen a copy of the address which the inhabitants of Campbell Town are preparing for him, and I like it far better: it is short and simple, but really very nice. The good man proposes to start for Campbell Town to-morrow (Tuesday) and get there on Wednesday. It has been a long promise to the people there that he would be present at a great steeple chase which is to be held on Thursday, and in which a great number of horses, both from this country and from Victoria, are to start. When W—— heard of his appointment to New South Wales, he was very glad he had made this promise, because he thought it would give him a good opportunity of taking leave of everybody in that part of the island. At first, he had intended to go no farther than Campbell Town; but the people of Launceston have sent to beg that he will come on there; and they are getting up a farewell dinner to him.

October 19.—I have nothing to record of the last few days, except W——'s progress, of which I have had daily accounts, both from his own letters and the papers. On Saturday he went into Launceston, where he was most enthusiastically received: numbers of people came out some way on the road to meet him, and in the town a continually increasing crowd greeted him with cheers and blessings, and pressed so eagerly about him to see and hear him, that when he alighted at the inn door, he found himself obliged to mount up again on the wheel of the carriage, so as to be seen, and make a speech to them, all unprepared as he was, for he had never expected such a demonstration,

and, indeed, had not intended to stop at the inn at all, but to go on at once to Newnham, a place belonging to a Mr. Gardner, with whom he was to stop. He spent Sunday quietly at Newnham, only coming into Launceston to church: on Monday he came in there again, to hold his levée; and Tuesday was the day of the great farewell dinner given to him by the inhabitants; and this, too, seems to have passed off very well. The notices in some of the papers are very gratifying: one, which used to be opposed to W——, has an 'own correspondent' at Launceston, who I see, in his issue of this evening, says, 'Since His Excellency's arrival in Launceston, I have mingled with numerous classes, and have taken occasion to "sound them," with respect to him; and I hesitate not to say that their concurrent testimony has been that of profound respect and sincere admiration towards him. I have heard the remark over and over again, 'the best Governor we ever had'!! This is particularly nice, as coming from Launceston, the place which has always hitherto seemed the least well affected towards him.

To Mrs. Denison.

October 20, 1854.

My dearest Mother,—I have just returned from a farewell visit to the other side of the island, and as the mail has arrived at Melbourne and will be here to-morrow, I must not lose any time in giving you an account of the mode in which I have been treated, and the expressions of regret at my departure, which have been very generally uttered, even by men heretofore opposed to me. I must not, however, lead you to believe that the feeling is unanimous; that, of course, is not the case, but it is very general. I had been applied to by the stewards of the races at Campbell Town, to dine with them after the races. These were very good, and at 6.30, about 150 people sat down to dinner in the assembly rooms. My

health was drunk with enthusiasm, and I took the opportunity of thanking the people for the very kind way in which they had then and always welcomed me, wishing them every kind of prosperity, and assuring them that I should not easily forget the many happy years which I had spent in the colony; neither indeed shall I, for although I have had many things to struggle with, and much to contend against, yet, on looking back to the eight years which have elapsed since I left England, I cannot deny that they have been eight years of happiness, and of greater happiness in that I have been enabled to attribute it to God's care and love, and to thank Him heartily for it.

To return to my tour: after the dinner at Campbell Town, I rode into the country, and met at the house of one of the settlers about twenty or thirty of the gentry of the neighbourhood, who were anxious to see me, and bid me good-bye. I was most warmly greeted, and many of them insisted upon riding back to Campbell Town with me. From thence I rode on to Launceston, which I reached on the 14th, taking up my abode in the house of a Mr. Gardner. On Monday I held a levée which was attended by a good number of people, and on Tuesday I was asked to a public dinner, at which, notwithstanding a heavy thunderstorm, about eighty people met me, and spoke in high terms of my conduct both as man and Governor. I do not lay much stress, of course, upon these declarations in after-dinner speeches, but they serve to a certain extent as straws to show how the wind blows; and, being spoken under the idea that I am about to leave the colony, they are more likely to be disinterested than if I were in a position to lead them to hope something from my favour hereafter.

I have written to Sir C. FitzRoy relative to my arrangements for succeeding him, in order that I might be made acquainted with his views and wishes. He wants

to go home by the overland mail either in November or January. I have told him that November would suit me best, provided I receive my commission by the mail, which is now due, but should I have to wait for it till November, I should not attempt to press upon him, and would wait till January, unless, indeed, I should be turned out by my successor.

To the Right Hon. Sir George Grey.

Hobart Town, November 18, 1854.

My dear Sir,—I have been in the habit, for many years past, of writing privately to the Secretary of State upon matters connected with the government of the colony. Lord Grey encouraged the practice, and, should you not object, I should be glad to continue writing occasionally, as I may be able to say that in a letter which I should be unwilling to commit to a despatch, as the latter might be printed and made public. Many of the difficulties with which I have had to struggle, have been created by the insertion in blue-books of despatches marked by me '*confidential*,' and which I thought were quite safe to remain in the pigeon-holes of the Colonial Office.

The question of a Federal system of government for these colonies is, I am informed, still under consideration. I am, to a certain extent, interested in the settlement of the question, inasmuch as my title when I move up to Sydney may depend upon the decision of the Government. I shall be sorry if the people of New South Wales are placed in a position to identify me with any loss of dignity which they may conceive this colony to have suffered; but still, the more I consider the subject, the more convinced am I of the impolicy of giving to one colony any predominance over the rest. I went at some length into this question, in a despatch written in 1849; and, in reference to what I then wrote, I see but little

to alter; and much has happened since which confirms me in the opinion I then expressed.

There is, in point of fact, little or nothing for a general assembly, or congress, to do. The colonies are satisfied with a very simple tariff of duties on imports; the postage system is settled, the mode of providing lighthouses has been arranged by an agreement between Van Diemen's Land, Victoria, and New South Wales; port dues are done away with pretty generally; the only matter which remains to be determined is the character and powers of a court of appeal. It can hardly be worth while to attempt to establish a system of Government of a most complicated character for the purpose of legislating as to this. There is, it is true, the question as to the disposal of Crown Land, but as the position of each colony is, with relation to this subject, different from that of its neighbour, each had better be allowed to legislate for itself in this matter. There will then be little or nothing for a Federal Assembly to discuss, if it be constructed according to the original sketch in the report of the Committee of Council. Are its attributes to be extended till it is assimilated, in some respects, to the Congress of the United States? If so, much of the power now vested in the separate legislatures of the colonies must be taken from them, and entrusted to the new body. I will not attempt to decide upon the wisdom of such a scheme; but will it be practicable? Will the different legislative bodies be willing to divest themselves of a power, of which they are just beginning to taste the sweets, for the purpose of transferring it to another body, in which each colony can only have a fractional share of influence? What benefit can they propose to themselves to counterbalance the sacrifice they will be called on to make, first, of power, and secondly, of dignity? There may be a desire on the part of New South Wales or Victoria, that some arrangement should be made by which one or the

other of these colonies should be established as the head-quarters of a Federal Government, and thus have a nominal, if not a real superiority over the rest; but I question whether the legislatures of either would be willing to yield a portion of the power they now possess, in order to carry out such a scheme. I ought to apologise for having troubled you on a subject which may not be before the Government, but I am, as I said before, somewhat interested in the matter, and I thought it better to give you an outline of my opinion in a letter than to adopt the form of a despatch. I have consequently given but an outline of a picture which would admit of much detailed illustration. I need only say that I shall be ready to carry out the decision of the Government, whatever it may be, to the best of my ability, without any regard to personal considerations.

I am, &c.,
W. D.

Extract from Journal.

Hobart Town, December 7, 1854.

Dearest ——,—We returned this morning from a visit to our friends the Sharlands, at New Norfolk, and exciting news awaited us on our arrival, or at least reached us soon after. A steamer came in from Melbourne, bringing despatches to W—— from Sir Charles Hotham, stating that there had again been an outbreak at the diggings, and entreating W—— to send over troops to the assistance of the Victorian Government. This seems to be a much worse business than the last; the diggers are apparently more organised now, and far more violent, and there has been an actual collision between them and the troops already in the colony, in which, though the diggers were defeated, there has, I fear, been loss of life on both sides. Altogether, they seem to be in a terrible state there; and so, as formerly, they come to W—— for assistance; and

the appeal has, as before, been promptly responded to. The steamer bearing this news only came in about the middle of the day, and by ten o'clock to-morrow morning it is said, 300 men will be ready to embark in the same steamer; and W—— has written a despatch to Sir C. Hotham, in which he says, that he places such entire confidence in the loyalty and good behaviour of the people here, that he shall be prepared to send away a yet further supply of our troops, if it should be necessary. I am glad he has said this: I think it is due to the people here to say it, and it is an irresistibly tempting opportunity, too, to say it to the Victorians, who are even now trying to introduce laws to prevent the free ingress to their shores of the people of this colony, for fear their intense virtue should be contaminated by our evil communication!

December 9.—The troops for Melbourne embarked yesterday morning; and W—— went on board to see them before they went off, and to speak a few words of farewell to them. He was hardly on board, however, before the signal was made that the regular steamer from Melbourne was in sight; so W—— detained the vessel with the troops half an hour or so, thinking she might possibly bring further news, to say that all was quiet at the diggings again, and that there was no need of troops after all. Nothing of this kind occurred, however; the news from the diggings consisted merely of meagre, vague, and contradictory rumours, and nothing official; so our soldiers are going, as at first decided on; but instead of this, came the news that the steamer had the English mail on board! many days before it was due, even at Melbourne; and the still more surprising tidings[1] of the '*fall of Sebastopol.*' This was shouted out by some one on board the steamer, almost before she came alongside, and

[1] This report finally resolved itself into the news of the battle of the Alma. It will be remembered that the same rumour obtained extensive credence in England just after that battle.

eagerly caught up by the crowd on the wharf, who were watching the embarkation of the troops. They began to cheer; the soldiers on board their steamer caught the sound, and joined; the band struck up 'Rule Britannia;' the news flew up to the house, and the children tumultuously claimed a holiday, in honour of the victory; and altogether it was an exciting scene; and before we had well time to breathe after it, up came the despatches, with W——'s commission as Governor-General! This last was quite unexpected, for, from the tone of our last month's news from home, we had imagined that the abolition of the office of Governor-General was all but decided upon; and it was interesting news in more ways than one, for we found that Sir Henry Young's commission for this place was also gazetted, so it is an intimation that we must prepare to pack up and be off.

December 18.—It rained so hard on Saturday, that we were obliged to put off the Orphan School prize-giving till to-day; and we have had a very nice day there. It is really a pleasant thing to go out amongst people here now; there is a kindly feeling manifested to us on all sides, as if people really were sorry to lose us. After the prizes had all been given, and just before the children dispersed to play, one of the senior boys stepped forward and read a short farewell address to W——, purporting to come from himself and the other monitors in the school. W—— was quite unprepared for this, but he spoke to the boys very nicely and kindly in answer. We, of course, supposed that the boys had been put up to this by their masters, but we heard afterwards, that it was their own idea: though I think the masters must have helped them in wording the address.

December 22.—If I had only room on this end of my paper, I *could* give you rather a comical account of a scene that took place here last Wednesday evening: the inauguration of W—— as a member of the Odd Fellows'

Society! He has long been a patron of the order here; and some time ago they gave him a dinner, in the course of which they requested him to become a member; and the good man was taken so much at unawares, that he acquiesced! Then they said they would come up here to initiate him, instead of expecting him to come to them, as most candidates do; but I think we were not quite prepared for the solemnity of the proceeding: for the end of it was, that they held what they call a Grand Lodge of the Order in our ball-room, with brethren of the Order to the number of two or three hundred, some of whom came a considerable distance to be present. Of course I did not witness the ceremony itself, as none but the initiated are admitted; but I saw the preparations in the ball-room, and could not help hearing something of what went on, from the drawing-room; and felt rather inclined to fear, from the aspect of the preparations, that they were about to take that one step which separates the sublime from the ridiculous! However, there really was a great deal that was very nice about it; and W—— was very favourably impressed with the whole demeanour of the members. I send you a paper with an account of the ceremony, and the same paper contains, also, the farewell address to W—— from the 'Royal Society' here. And now I must end by wishing you all many and many a happy Christmas! We shall be together in our thoughts and prayers on that day, I know.—Love to all.

The two following letters are inserted partly as evidence of the extent to which party-spirit, on the subject of transportation, prevailed; but more particularly for the purpose of showing how a few kind words may change the whole tone of feeling of men towards each other. No two persons could look at a political question from more different points of view than Mr. Pitcairn and myself, yet

there was at the same time a conviction on the part of each, that the other was not actuated by any selfish or improper motive; so that a few words of explanation were sufficient to place the conduct of either in a proper light.

To R. Pitcairn, Esq.

December 16, 1854.

Sir,—I am about to leave this colony very shortly, and as I should be sorry to do so with the feeling that a person whose character I respect, should imagine that he had any just cause to complain of my conduct towards him, I write these few lines for the purpose of assuring you that if I have said or done anything which may have given you offence, or hurt your feelings, it has been entirely unintentional on my part; and that, should such have been the result of any conduct of mine, I am very sorry for it.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

W. DENISON.

To Sir William Denison.

Davey Street, December 16, 1854.

Sir,—In the discussion of the only public question in which I ever took much interest, I certainly was under the impression that you had not done me justice. But I am sensible that, on my part, I have not always done justice to your motives and actions in the administration of this Government. It is to be hoped that all unkind recollections may soon cease to exist among all those who were so long opponents, and I know of nothing better calculated to produce this desirable end than the feeling which has dictated the letter which I have just received from you, and for which I beg very sincerely to thank you.

I earnestly trust that your Government in New South Wales may prove both advantageous to the colony and

satisfactory to yourself; and, with every good wish for the welfare of your family, I beg to remain

Your faithful and obedient servant,

ROBERT PITCAIRN.

To Sir Charles Hotham, K.C.B.

Government House, Van Diemen's Land, December 23, 1854.

My dear Sir,—I am glad to hear that you have succeeded in quelling, for the present, the disturbance among the diggers, though I confess that the account of the verdict given at the inquest led me to regret that you had withdrawn the proclamation of martial law. I trust, too, that you have mistaken the views of the Commission appointed to enquire into matters in the gold districts, or that you will think twice before you carry out these suggestions. The abolition of the license fee will operate injuriously upon the Government of New South Wales, as the diggers will naturally expect to be dealt with in one colony upon the same principles as they are in another; and the effect of the *abolition* of the license fee is, in point of fact, a resignation by the Government of the right to the soil, inasmuch as you practically say to any man who chooses to roam about the country with a spade or a pickaxe, 'Go where you will; dig where you choose,—for you have a right in the soil which I am not prepared to dispute.' It may be that the license fee is too high though I should hardly consider it to be so;—in this case it might be reduced, but I trust you will pause before you relinquish it altogether. I say nothing as to the question of revenue, though I very much doubt that any available export duty upon gold, which will be evaded in a hundred different ways, will make up your loss on the licenses. With regard to the representation of the diggers as a class, I think it unadvisable;—I should object upon principle to the representation of sections of a community, as

tending to generate the idea that the interests of one portion of the community are different from those of another portion, and that the legislative body is a mere collection of the representatives of antagonistic elements, battling and combining together in order to see how these sectional interests can be best promoted. The diggers at present, at all events those who are in possession of the franchise, *are* represented; that is, they have the power of voting for members of the legislature; and if you are to modify your representative system in order to suit the fancies of a migrating and disorderly population like that of the gold fields, you will have to make a change every six months. I am afraid that the concession which you contemplate will but produce the ordinary fruit, and that your anticipations of *further riots* will be unpleasantly verified. It will be a question for the General in command, whether, under the circumstances, it would not be wise to order up a regiment from New Zealand, or, at all events, to give the commanding officers notice that such a step may be necessary, in order that they may have the men in readiness to move with as little delay as possible. I proceed to Sydney about the middle of January, so as to arrive there but a few days before the embarkation of Sir Charles FitzRoy, who goes home by the Overland Mail.

Believe me, yours very truly,

W. DENISON.

Extract from Journal.

Hobart Town, January 3, 1855.

Dearest ——,—It has seemed as if I never was to have time to get on with my letter. I finished and sent off some home letters on New Year's day, but as this one was only just begun, I kept it to journalise with, and sent home our New Year's good wishes by the others. We had sat up the night before, as our wont is, to see the New Year fairly in, and to usher it in as we like best, with thanks-

givings and prayers for ourselves, and all those dear to us; but the day itself was chiefly spent (as most of our days, alas! are now), in a whirl of packing.

January 6.—This morning, as expected, the steamer from Melbourne 'hove in sight,' with Sir Henry Young and his family on board: we awaited their arrival here, and went to one of the upstairs rooms to witness the disembarkation. W—— had sent Mr. L—— on board to welcome them, and thither also went some of the principal Government officers, and on the wharf was Colonel Last (now left in command of the forces here, while most of the troops are at Melbourne), 'making,' as he said, 'the best show he could with the small number of men left to him,' and with a guard of honour and the band. I was afraid they would be a little disappointed with their reception; the battery, and one or two of the ships, saluted as they came alongside, but there was much less of a crowd on the wharf than I had expected to see, owing, perhaps, to the earliness of the hour. As soon as, from our post of observation, we had seen them fairly landed, we came down to the drawing-room to be ready to receive them, and in a few minutes they made their appearance. They are to take up their quarters at Dr. Hampton's house for a few days, till we can make way for them here; so I saw but little of them, as they only remained here a short time; but W—— followed them to Dr. Hampton's to have some talk with Sir Henry.

January 8.—Sir Henry Young was sworn in to-day; so W—— has ceased to be Governor of Van Diemen's Land, and is, for the present, 'a gentleman at large,' with nothing to do but prepare answers to addresses, which are coming in thick and fast upon him: from his brethren the Odd Fellows (who commence their address—'Sir and Brother'); from a different order of Odd Fellows; from the Royal Society, the Agricultural Association, the Horticultural Society, the Public Library, the Mechanics

Institute;—from all these different bodies, addresses are coming, or have come, besides the great general address of the colonists, and that accompanying the testimonial, both which are to be presented in a few days. It is pleasing to see that every one of these different bodies have in some way or other to acknowledge W——'s special usefulness *to them*: it shows, I think, in a nice way, how never failingly he has given a helping hand to everything good or useful, of any sort, that came in his way. There was a pleasing scene this morning: W——'s farewell interview with the Government Officers. The swearing in of Sir H. Young was to take place at twelve o'clock, so W—— had issued a notice that he would receive all the Government Officers at half past eleven, so as to get his interview with them over before Sir Henry's began. W—— had expected only the heads of the different departments; but instead of that, numbers came, heads and subordinates, as if all wanted to be present at this final interview. W—— spoke to them generally, thanking them for the support and assistance he had invariably received from them; and as soon as he had done speaking Mr. Champ[1] came forward, saying that he had been deputed by the rest of the officers of Government to express their sense of what W—— had been to them: his speech, I think, was written, and then W—— thanked them again, and shook hands with them all. At twelve o'clock Sir Henry and Lady Young arrived. It was decided that the ceremony of swearing in should take place in the dining-room, which is a long, capacious room; and I was very glad of this, for it gave me and the girls, Lady Young, and one or two other ladies, an opportunity of witnessing the ceremony, which I had not done in W——'s case on our arrival here. The room was crowded, at least the lower part of it; for besides all the Government Officers, and sundry members of Council,

[1] The Colonial Secretary.

mayor and aldermen, reporters for newspapers, &c., there swarmed in rather a motley crowd of citizens, who, however, were perfectly quiet and well behaved. Still there was a clear space kept around the table, at the head of which stood Sir H. Young, with the Chief Justice by his side, administering the oaths, the Clerk of the Council opposite him reading the Queen's commission, the staff and Government officers standing round three sides of the table, and the fourth left clear, so that we ladies, and W——, who stood near us, might have a full view of the proceedings. There was nothing to see, however, for it was merely a reading of commissions, and administering of oaths. Among the crowd at the lower end of the room were five or six men, who had mounted on a table, in order to see over the heads of those in front of them; and in the very middle of the ceremony, during the reading of the Queen's commission, the leg of the table broke, and let them all down with a crash. I gave them great credit for their presence of mind and sense of decorum; for not one of them made the slightest exclamation or uttered a sound of any sort, but all descended in exemplary silence, so that the ceremony was uninterrupted, except by the clatter of the falling table; and whether it fell on anybody's toes or not remains a mystery.

Hobart Town, January 11.—Dearest ——,—I finished my evening letter with a description of last Monday's proceedings: the swearing in of Sir Henry Young, &c., and now I will begin one to you, to be finished, I hope, at Sydney. The two last days have been spent in an unceasing bustle in packing, arranging, taking leave of people, &c. and I was really glad, yesterday, to have too much to do to be able to dwell on the thought of its being the last day in the dear old house, which has been such a happy home to us now for nearly eight years. We had to leave it in the afternoon, to make room for the sale (which is to take place to-day) of what furniture, &c.

we leave behind. W—— and I, and the two elder girls, came here, (to the house of Mr. Fleming,[1] the Chief Justice;) the younger children and nurse went to one of the inns, and the plan still holds good for our sailing the day after to-morrow. This has been a melancholy week altogether; for I have a real affection for this place, and for the people, who show so much *heart*, and such a warmth of feeling towards us. It is pleasant to feel and see, as we cannot but see, that our departure is regretted, and, at the same time, it is sad to leave a place where one feels that one is known and valued, to make one's way among strangers. To-morrow, if present arrangements hold good, is to be our great leave-taking day: we are to go down in the afternoon to Government House, where W—— is to hold what is called an 'undress levée,' and I, at the same time, am to have a public reception of all the ladies who may wish to come and see me, and say good-bye. We are, in fact, to hold our levée together in the same room, in order that both ladies and gentlemen may see us both.

Government House, Sydney, January 18.—Here we are, dearest Mammy. We arrived safe and well, thank God! yesterday morning (Wednesday), having left Hobart Town on Saturday afternoon. Our passage was a fine one, that is to say, it was calm, still weather; but, as what little wind there was was against us, and accompanied by a good deal of that rolling swell which makes one wonder how this ocean ever came to be called the Pacific, we were all ill, except W——, who seems proof against everything of the sort; and most of us continued so, with an occasional slight improvement, and then a relapse, up to the very moment of our getting inside the Heads here. I must, however, take up my history from where I left it off, for I want to describe to you, if I can, our two last days in dear old Van Diemen's Land, which were touching and

[1] Now Sir Valentine Fleming.

gratifying in the extreme. On Friday we were to have our farewell 'levée;' and that day was also fixed upon for the presentation to W——, of the great general address from the colonists, with their testimonial. We came down to Government House about two o'clock, and took up our position in the ball-room. Ladies and gentlemen came in together; and the principal Government officers and their wives, after speaking and shaking hands, went and stationed themselves on the sofas, &c. behind us. Of the rest of the community, some, who were comparatively strangers to us, merely made their bow, as at an ordinary levée, and passed out by the opposite door; but by far the greater number, after passing us, turned off to the lower part of the room, and waited there, as if to see the end of the proceedings; a movement which we were at first rather sorry to see, thinking it would make a difficulty as to how we were to part with them; but afterwards we were glad of it, as they took their own line, and took leave of us very nicely, as you shall hear. Meanwhile, a great many gentlemen went out again, in order to join the deputation which was forming outside to present the testimonial, and as soon as the actual levée was over, in they all came; such a number of them! The address was read by a Mr. Bethune, an old settler, who, in the course of it, presented to W—— first, a cheque for the 2,000*l.* (to be sent to England for the purchase of the plate); then, a very nicely bound and illuminated book, containing the address and signatures; and finally, a cedar box, containing the sheets of paper with all the original signatures, which, of course, had had to be copied for the book.[1] When he had finished reading,

[1] The presentation of this memorial led to a good deal of correspondence, to which I may as well briefly allude. In the first place, when the intention of the people to offer a testimonial was made known to me, I suggested that it should assume the form of a scholarship at the College, or of something of permanent value to the colony, with which my name might be connected. The answer of the promoters to this suggestion was to the effect that they did

W—— read his reply; and then we shook hands with the members of the deputation, who retired. Then all the people who had been waiting in the ball-room, came swarming up to me in succession, each with just a word of 'good bye' or 'God bless you,' or some little good wish of the sort, and I shook hands with them all, and bid them good-bye, as well as I was able to speak (which was not very well, after all), and as soon as they were all gone, I went up to my dear old deserted bed-room, and had a regular burst of crying, which did me a great deal of good. W——, in the meanwhile, had moved rather forward to shake hands with people, so that he took leave of them as cordially as I did; but there was a *heartiness* in the whole scene, which one cannot describe on paper, but which was inexpressibly gratifying. Sir Henry Young, who was present, told somebody that he had never seen such a scene in his life. Some people were there from distant

not want anything to recal my memory to themselves or their children; that their wish was that I and my children should have something which would remind us of a people among whom we had lived so many years. I might have said, very truly, that neither I nor my wife were likely to forget them, or the happy years we had passed among them, but to a request, so worded, I could not but assent, and I left it to them to decide what shape the memorial should take. This was eventually determined to be a large centre-piece for a dining-table. After the memorial had been presented I thought myself bound to report the circumstance to the Secretary of State; and this induced replies and rejoinders. Objections were made by the Secretary of State to the receipt of any testimonial or acknowledgment of kindly feeling on the part of the people by an out-going Governor, on the ground that the prospect of such a gift might induce the Governor to pay more attention to the wishes of the people than to the orders of the Secretary of State. I pointed out, in rejoinder, that other Governors had to my knowledge received large sums as a testimonial, to which, as they had not thought it necessary to report the circumstance, no objection had been made; and that I at all events could not be charged with any special subserviency to a body of people, whose particular hobby I had steadily opposed for eight years.

At last leave was given to me to accept the present, which was manufactured in England, and I had great pleasure, in the course of about a year or so, in sending down to Hobart Town, for the inspection of the subscribers, a very magnificent silver centre-piece, embodying, in addition to the old stereotyped forms, groups characteristic of the employments of the people or of the nature of the productions of the country.

parts of the country: some who, from circumstances of sickness or affliction, might well have been excused from coming, and whose appearance could not, therefore, have been a mere matter of form. Poor Mrs. Sharland came actually from her bed, all the way down from New Norfolk, and was too ill, after all, when she got to Hobart Town, to come to the 'levée;' but I saw her quietly the next morning. That next day (Saturday) was the day of our embarkation; and we found it had been determined that a procession should form at Government House at half-past-one to accompany us to the wharf, as we were to sail at two. When we arrived at the house, we found the verandah filled with gentlemen; but the procession was so long, that they were soon obliged to leave the verandah, and form outside the gates; and when all was ready, we came out, and, preceded by the Bishop and Chief Justice, set out to join them there. There was a crowd outside the gates, who greeted us with cheers the moment we emerged; and then we stopped a moment, while all the members of the procession filed past to take their places. They consisted of, first, W——'s brethren, the Odd Fellows; then, several of the inhabitants, the Mayor and Corporation, members of the Legislative and Executive Councils, &c. We came last, Colonel Last and Mr. Lochner walking on each side of us, and keeping off the crowd who accompanied and followed us, but who were very quiet and well behaved. The windows of the houses we passed were full of people looking on. When we reached the wharf, the Odd Fellows ranged themselves on each side, making a sort of lane for us to pass through: here also was a guard of honour, and the band, which played 'Auld Lang Syne' as we walked by. The whole wharf looked like a sea of heads: every ship, too, had its group of spectators on board, and, in some cases, people even in the rigging and tops. The cheers rang and rang again; and amidst the cheering, I heard many a voice say, 'God

bless you, Sir William!' 'God bless you and your family!' 'We wish you all health and prosperity,' &c. On board a sort of hulk, close to the steamer in which we were to embark, were a number of children, apparently belonging to some school; and these all had nosegays, which they tried to throw on to the deck as we embarked, but, unluckily, most of them fell short, and went into the water. W—— spoke to the assembled crowds after we got on board; and the moment it was seen that he was about to do so, there was a great 'hushing' and proclamation of silence; but it was but two or three words that he said, reciprocating their good wishes, and praying that God would bless them; and in a minute or two more we were off. Every ship that we passed in the harbour sent out a cheer to greet us, and even then the adieus were not over, for three steamers were presently speeding after us, laden with people who meant to accompany us out to sea. This was, as W—— remarked, 'a protracted agony;' for though we were gratified by seeing them there, and though we felt that, when those steamers turned back, we should seem to be losing our last friends, still, in one sense, we felt that their departure would be a relief; for they kept making kindly demonstrations which were like one prolonged 'good-bye.' The people on board one steamed up close alongside of us, and sang 'Auld Lang Syne;' those on another had a band, which played a tune to which they had put special words for the occasion: sometimes there would arise from a steamer a vigorous shout of 'Three cheers for the Governor-General;' then 'Three for Lady Denison;' sometimes it was three for the children, and once, something which we could not hear quite distinctly, but which we thought was, 'Three for the native-born!' They had an unpleasant propensity to fire guns, too; sometimes so close as to make my ears sing again. They accompanied us in this manner for upwards of twelve miles, till we had cleared the river, and the swell of the

sea became so perceptible, as to give them a hint to retire; then they produced glasses, drank to W——'s health with loud cheers, and threw the glasses into the sea; steamed round our vessel with a chorus of parting cheers and parting shots, and so took their leave. Altogether you may fancy what an overwhelming day it was: perhaps the most trying part of it was saying good-bye to some of the individuals who seemed most to feel our departure; special friends, and the servants whom we left behind, &c. &c.

January 20.—Now I must leave the chapter of Hobart Town, and enter on that of Sydney. We arrived here, as I told you, on Wednesday morning: as soon as the steamer had anchored, a boat from the 'Calliope' came off, to take me and the children on shore, dropping W—— by the way, on board the 'Calliope,' as it had been decided by the authorities that he should land from thence in proper state. We landed at a sort of private quay, close under the house; and were received by Sir Charles FitzRoy and Colonel Bloomfield, the commander of the forces, and one or two other staff officers. They escorted us to the house, and then went off to the 'Calliope' to see W——, who, in due time, landed, not at the little private landing-place, but at some more public place, and was escorted to the house by an immense crowd, with a great display of uniforms, volunteer cavalry, and rifles, &c.; and altogether much more of *show* than could have been got up in Van Diemen's Land; but it did not give us half the pleasure, because these are as yet mere forms of ceremonial, while there it seemed an outburst of genuine feeling. However, we must hope that it will be so here, too, in time; of course it can be nothing but form as yet, but I am sure from all I hear, that people here are quite disposed to receive W—— cordially, and to like him. As far as I have yet seen, I must say that this harbour, pretty as it is, does not come up to Hobart Town in point of beauty; but then I have seen very

little, and perhaps may find cause to alter my opinion by and bye. This house is really a fine one, Elizabethan in style, and very handsome within. The individual rooms are all good, and some of them beautiful; but it is a badly laid out house, and the consequence is that there is really not near so much room in it as you would imagine from its apparent size. My bedroom is the most perfectly delightful room you can imagine; another charming room is the one I am now sitting in: it is what has hitherto been called the private drawing-room. There are large public rooms downstairs, dining-room, ante-room, drawing-room, and ball-room, all opening into one another; but this upstairs room has always been the *home* room; and when it gets our books and prints into and about it, it promises to be almost perfection. W—— was sworn in to-day, and I have had my first reception for the ladies, but I must give you some account of our new acquaintances in another letter. And now, God bless you, dearest Mammy! Love to all.

CHAPTER VIII.

SECONDARY PUNISHMENT.

A FEW words on the subject of Secondary Punishment will be an appropriate termination to the account of the first phase of my vice-regal life. It is true that the letter to Mr. Labouchere, introducing the subject, had reference to a period some two years subsequent to my departure from Van Diemen's Land, and the minute addressed to the Executive Council of New South Wales was written about the same time. The information, however, upon which this minute was based, was collected during my residence in Van Diemen's Land; my New South Wales experience having added nothing to it, nor modified it in any way.

The subject, if allowed to take its place according to date, would come in more *à propos* to the vagaries of the garotters in England, than to any circumstances of special interest in New South Wales. I have, therefore, placed it in its proper position as a sort of general summary of the experience which eight years' administration of affairs in a convict colony had furnished to me.

To the Right Hon. H. Labouchere.

Government House, Sydney, March 9, 1857.

My dear Sir,—You will receive by this mail two petitions from the flock owners of Moreton Bay; the first praying for the revival of transportation under certain conditions, the other for the establishment of a form of Government identical with that which has just been done away with in these colonies. It is evident that they do not like the

idea of responsible Government. I may as well call your attention to the fact that the men who have signed these petitions, although they occupy very large tracts of Government land, and are wealthy men, do not possess much land in fee simple: they have, in fact, but little permanent stake in the country. Any man amongst them might sell off his sheep with the right to his run, at the rate of 1*l.* per head (and it is at that rate that they have estimated their possessions) and leave the colony for ever, without rending apart a single tie which binds him to it. With regard to the transportation petition, I think the conditions are too absurd to allow me to believe the men serious in putting them forward; but they have seen so much in the English papers on the subject of transportation, as to lead them to imagine that the Government would assist any plan, or make any sacrifice, in order to get rid of a present difficulty; and they have, therefore, submitted conditions by which these great occupiers of land, who have already had the means of accumulating wealth which they could hardly have dreamt of, would be furnished with labour at a cheap rate, and have their roads made at the expense of the Imperial Government. I trust you will not be induced even to make the attempt of negotiating with these people. I feel quite certain that it will raise a very strong feeling throughout these colonies, and I am equally certain, that, after costing a very large sum in preliminary arrangements, the opposition of the great body of the community will compel you to withdraw the convicts.

It may seem presumptuous in me to allude to the general question of prison discipline in England; but, as it is a subject which was brought prominently before me while I was in Van Diemen's Land, I may perhaps venture to draw your attention to that which appears to me to have been the principal cause of failure in the working of the ticket of leave system in England. I may at once

say, that I believe the Government will be compelled, in the course of a few years, to provide for the retention and punishment of all classes of offenders within the limits of the United Kingdom. I do not think you will be able to find any spot on the face of the globe to which you can, with any safety, transport your criminals. One of my objects in recommending the continuance of transportation to Van Diemen's Land was, to give time for perfecting the arrangements which the retention of criminals in England would render indispensable. The failure of the system adopted is due partly to the absence of these arrangements, or rather, I may say, to their insufficiency; but still more to the prevalence of the absurd principle that offenders are incarcerated, not for *punishment*, but for *reformation*. I believe this principle to be at the root of all those evils which have sprung up of late years with relation to prison discipline; and I feel quite certain, that unless you start from the principle that detention in prison is intended as a *real and efficient punishment*, and that all attempts at reformation are to be subordinate to punishment, the evils under which you now suffer will be aggravated tenfold. Why is a man who has committed an offence against the law, which is met by a punishment of five years' penal servitude, to be let off in two and a half, or three years, on account of his good conduct in the prison; or on account of his supposed reformation? It is true that, in the penal colonies, the system of remission of punishment worked well, but the circumstances of these colonies were very different from those of England, and a system which answers well here, might, and I may almost say, must, fail in England. Even in this colony, I am quite prepared to press upon the Government the abrogation of the system of tickets of leave, which appears to me to render the administration of justice in criminal matters almost a farce.

There is a sort of maudlin sentimentality prevalent in

England, which leads people to consider the felon, not as a man who has broken through all laws, human and Divine, but as one who, by the fault of others, not his own, has been placed in circumstances where the temptations to sin, or to commit offences against human laws, were irresistible. I would submit that this is not at all a proper view to take of the conduct of such a man, neither are we justified in measuring his liabilities by such a scale; but even were these sentimentalists right in their view, I would point out that the necessary consequence of sin is punishment. In the case of offences against God's Law, we believe that the punishment is sent in mercy, the object being to call us to repentance; but in the case of human enactments, all that is looked to is the punishment. This we attempt to regulate according to the nature and degree of the offence; the object being, by the infliction, to warn the individual of the risk which will accompany the repetition of the offence, and to hold him out *in terrorem* to others. Remissions of sentence upon any ground, and especially if they are granted in accordance with any fixed rule, put an end to the principle of punishment; and in my opinion your only safety in England will be the adoption of a strict and stern system of meting out to every man the full penalty which the law allots to his offence. I feel strongly on the subject, having thought on it much and earnestly. I must not, however, trespass upon your time now; I ought to apologise for having done so already to a greater length than I ought.

Believe me, yours very truly,

W. DENISON.

The subject of secondary punishment, the principle of which is briefly sketched out in this letter to Mr. Labouchere, had, as may be imagined, been one of grave consideration with me ever since my first arrival in Van Diemen's Land: indeed, for some years previous to my

appointment as Lieutenant-Governor. The various modes in which the reformation theory was to be worked out had been brought prominently before me, as an Engineer, during the building of the Prison at Pentonville, which, as an old friend of Colonel Jebb, I had watched and scrutinised with great interest. I can quite comprehend and sympathise with the feeling and the wish that the gaol may be made the instrument of reformation to the offenders confined within its walls: it is a dreadful thought that so many thousands are placed beyond the reach of those influences which may induce them to look on the past with repentance, and on the future with hope; but a long experience in dealing with different classes of offenders has forced upon me the conviction that the system of indulgence by which a portion of the punishment meted out by law to particular offences is remitted, on the ground of good conduct in gaol, or of supposed penitence, does but encourage crime by enticing the offender to speculate on the remission as a matter of course; and to add the sin of hypocrisy to the long list of those of which he had been already guilty. The effect of this reformation theory was to inundate me with letters of recommendation from the gaol chaplains and others, that special favour should be shown to A. or B. on the supposition that he was a reformed character; and, in one instance, I received a letter from the late Archbishop of Dublin, stating that there were no fewer than thirty men on board of a particular ship, to whom, under the conviction that their repentance was sincere, he had administered the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The course pursued by me with reference to these applications was to direct that a special report should be made to me, at the end of six months, of the conduct of the men; and I regret to say that, in most cases, it was unsatisfactory. A very little thought upon the part of those who made these hasty assumptions, should have led them to doubt the

speedy effect of punishment upon the mind of one probably bred up in the midst of the most reckless and abandoned of his or her fellow-creatures. I can truly say that all that I have seen in Australia and elsewhere has convinced me that what we require in England is not so much reformatories for those who have been steeped in vice and crime from their cradles, as a steady and consistent action on the part of the Church, (and in this term, be it understood, I include all denominations of Christians,) to prevent crime by teaching the young their duty to God and to their neighbour. St. Paul says of the Jews that 'The name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles through them;' and anyone who has passed much time in our colonies, or in India, can bear testimony to the fact that this saying is as applicable to ourselves as to the Jews.

In my letter to Mr. Labouchere, I said that the circumstances of the colony of Van Diemen's Land were very different from those of England with relation to the convicts, and I wish to explain that the ticket of leave, which in England was a substantial remission of a portion of the sentence, was, in respect to all offenders transported to the colony, but the mere removal of a police restriction. 'Transportation,' that is, a removal from England, was the sentence passed upon the convict; and this was hardly ever remitted. The man landed in the colony as a bad character, and was necessarily placed under surveillance. As soon as he showed by his conduct that he might be trusted to a certain extent, he was permitted to act as servant to a settler, receiving wages for his work. Continued good conduct enabled him after a time to claim a ticket of leave; that is, the right of providing for himself within specified territorial limits; further good conduct entitled him to a *conditional* pardon, that is, freed him from all police restrictions, and enabled him to leave the colony, to go where he

liked, *except* to the country from which he was transported, where the original sentence, if unexpired, still hung over him.

This difference seems to have escaped the notice of those who advocated the extension of the ticket of leave system to England. It is true that the rules which prevailed with reference to transported offenders were made, in the colonies, applicable to those who committed offences, for which transportation was the recognised punishment; but the proportion of these was small in Van Diemen's Land; whilst in New South Wales the continuance of the system after the cessation of transportation made the administration of justice in criminal matters almost farcical.

The following minute, addressed to the Executive Council in New South Wales, will explain clearly the view which I then entertained of the mode in which secondary punishment might be made effective; and further experience has in no respect modified the opinions therein expressed.

Memorandum on Secondary Punishment, submitted to the Executive Council of New South Wales in 1857.

There are two matters, the consideration of which is clearly preliminary to the discussion of any system of Secondary Punishment. These are:—

1st.—The origin of crime.

2nd.—The object which is sought to be obtained by the punishment of crime.

Unless we obtain some idea of the operation of the causes which induce crime, we shall but wander in the dark, in our attempt to devise a system of punishment which may, to a certain extent, neutralise the action of these causes; while, on the other hand, if we can obtain a clear idea of these causes, we may not only adapt our

system of secondary punishment to them, but we may also meet the evil, and, to a certain extent, at all events, nip crime in the bud; a far more satisfactory process than that of punishing it, when it has produced its fruit.

It is also necessary that we should define clearly the objects which society seeks to obtain by the punishment of crime. Until we do this, we shall but follow in the track of the many experimentalists who have preceded us, and shall establish a sort of jumble of systems, which impede each other in their operation, and from which we cannot expect to derive useful or proper results.

1st. As to the origin of crime. Crime (under which general term I include all offences against society which are punishable by law) may be considered under two general heads.

1st.—Offences against the person.

2nd.—Offences against property.

Offences against the person sometimes originate in feelings which have a direct relation to the individual against whom they are committed; such are those which are caused by a spirit of revenge for real or imagined insults or injuries. But by far the greater number of offences against the person are caused by the desire of the offender to appropriate to himself, directly or indirectly, the property of the victim; that is, they originate, as do nearly all the offences against property, in a desire to procure the means of self-indulgence in a more direct and ready manner than could be done by honest industry.

If we trace this feeling or desire a step further back, we shall find that it has its origin in *idleness*; in a disinclination to work.

The child is not brought up by his parents to any trade or occupation; his appetites are as active, indeed they are more active than those of his fellows who have been

better trained than himself; and he, under the influence of these appetites, takes what seems to him the readiest means of satisfying them.

The particular mode in which the individual criminal operates is dependent upon his general character and habits, and, to a certain extent, upon his physical organisation. The determined athletic man becomes a footpad or a burglar; the weak or cowardly become pickpockets, commit petty larcenies, forge, or prey upon society in various petty ways. The money, however, which either class obtains by its roguery is spent in self-indulgence, and generally in the gratification of the sensual appetites.

Idleness, or a *disinclination to steady industry*, is at the root of ninety crimes out of a hundred, and as in dealing with offences, the Government cannot analyse the motives of each individual offender, or apply to each that particular kind of punishment which would suit his case, but must carry out a system adapted to the great mass of offenders, it is probable that, in dealing with all as if their crime originated in idleness, the least possible injustice will be done, and the greatest amount of good.

2nd. What is the object of punishment? This is very generally said to be the prevention of crime; but this, though in point of fact a correct answer, merely induces another question;—Is crime better prevented by considering every system of punishment as having for its principal object the reformation of the individual offender, or as intended to operate through his fears, and those of the class to which he belongs, by making it a terror to evildoers?

These are the two views which are entertained by different classes of people, and which lead in practice to very different results; for, though the advocates of punishment or of reformation do not limit themselves within the narrow bounds of their theory; though he who affirms that the single object of punishment is the prevention of

crime through its action on the fears, does not repudiate any attempt to reform individual offenders, and he who lays the greatest stress upon the reformatory system does not ignore the action of punishment upon the mass ;—yet there is a distinct and marked difference in the mode in which the offender is treated under the two systems, and to this it is necessary that attention should be paid.

When punishment is intended to act upon the fears, it operates by making the consequences of crime so distasteful to the offender as to induce him to keep a stricter watch over his conduct for the future. It operates, too, upon those who belong to the 'crime class,' by placing the punishment of an individual offender before them as a warning; and they are told that, should they offend in a similar manner, the same amount of punishment will be meted out to them.

Under the reformatory system; however, a different course is followed. The law is assumed to have marked its sense of the conduct of the offender by passing a certain sentence upon him. As soon, however, as he enters the prison doors, he is told that this sentence is almost a matter of form; that under it, it is true, he is placed in the prison, but that good conduct, by which is meant conformity to the discipline of the gaol, and such external evidences as he chooses to give of reformation, will have the effect of lessening the punishment allotted to him by law; and practically, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, the punishment is shortened.

What we have, then, to consider, is the action of these two systems in the prevention of crime.

I may observe that it is by no means impossible, in adopting such a system as would act upon the fears of the prisoner or his associates, to combine it with such attention to his moral improvement as may lead to such a change of heart and life, as may be worthy of the name of reformation. But the essence of a system which is to

act upon the fears principally, is that the punishment allotted by the law to any particular offence should be fully carried out; the man should be made aware that he has to undergo a certain amount of punishment, and that no pretended amendment, no professions of a change, of which the Government or its agents can have no positive evidence, will have the effect of reducing this amount. Will this be likely to operate upon the man? I mean, operate so upon him as to induce him to abstain from crime for the future, or will it be better to bribe him to good conduct in the gaol by hopes of reward, and to stimulate him to hypocrisy by promises of remission of a portion of his sentence? I confess that my own view is decidedly opposed to the system of remitting portions of a sentence. I believe that the effect of such remission is to neutralise, to a great extent, the effect of example, upon the prisoner himself, and upon his associates; these latter know very well that their comrade was sentenced to a certain punishment, they see that practically this punishment is not inflicted, and they naturally calculate that a similar result will take place in their own case, should it be their lot to come under the lash of the law. And upon the prisoner himself it is productive of no beneficial effect; he very soon begins to look upon indulgence as a thing to be purchased by good conduct, or submission to the discipline of the gaol, and forgets that he is in no way entitled to claim a reward for not breaking through the rules, when a contrary conduct would entail (properly) punishment; he ceases to look upon remission as a matter of favour, and claims it as a matter of right. And, as regards the reformation of prisoners in a gaol, I confess I am very sceptical. I do not mean, of course, to say, that in many cases a man is not truly sorry that he has committed the offence which has subjected him to punishment; that he does not resolve to amend his life, and that he is not often serious at the time in making such resolutions; but are

these professions (even supposing the Government to be able to ascertain their sincerity) sufficient reasons for remitting any portion of the punishment which the law has awarded to a particular offence? Most certainly not. If the man be truly penitent, he will show it by his willing submission to the sentence passed upon him; he will acknowledge its justice, and will only strive to show that his heart has changed, by a studious attention to the rules of the gaol, and an obedience to the orders he receives. If his repentance be not sincere, he can have no claim to any indulgence. I am, therefore, prepared to maintain, that the system of penal discipline to be adopted in this colony ought to be regulated upon the principle that it is to act upon the fears of the crime class; and that, as a necessary consequence of the adoption of such a system, no remissions of punishment, unless under special and peculiar circumstances, shall be admissible. As crime has been traced to its origin in idleness, it would seem that imprisonment unaccompanied with labour must enhance the evils which it is intended to remedy. By imprisonment idleness is enforced, and it is relieved from the consequences which result from it in ordinary life, for the prisoner has board, lodging, and clothing found him at the expense of the community; in fact, he is provided with all the actual necessaries of life, without the obligation of earning them by his own labour; he is placed exactly in the position which his habits of idleness render most pleasant to him, the only drawback to his enjoyment being the coercion, the restraint upon his freedom of action; but even to this, after a time, he becomes habituated, and there are several among the crime class who look to the prison almost as their home, who commit offences, it might almost be said, for the purpose of returning to a domicile, the comforts of which, in their eyes, far surpass the inconveniences, at all events for a while. Simple imprisonment, therefore, is a most objec-

tionable form of punishment; it has not that action upon the fears of the crime class which we have before determined to be the essence of a penal system, and it panders to that morbid feeling of apathy and idleness which is at the root of almost all crime.

Imprisonment, however, is an essential part of any penal system, and it only remains, therefore, for us to consider whether it may not be made effective by connecting it with a system of discipline which may modify, if not remove, the inconvenience alluded to above. Imprisonment is enforced idleness; combine it then with enforced labour; let residence in a prison entail labour as a matter of course, as a necessary element of the system, and the evil of idleness will be removed. Compulsory labour, however, unless some motive beyond the mere dread of punishment be held out to the prisoner, will not, in the first place, be effective, and will not, in the second place, operate as an antidote to that love of idleness which has been the means of bringing the offenders into prison; it will operate to a certain extent as a punishment, but it will not have any effect in generating habits of industry. To make it thoroughly effective, inducements to work must be held out to the prisoner; the reward of labour must be tangible and immediate, so that the idle man may have the conviction pressed upon his mind that labour, although disagreeable, has positive advantages resulting from it. In order to this, it would be desirable to establish the rule, that although the Government in incarcerating a prisoner holds itself bound to maintain him, that is, to provide him with food, &c., yet the ordinary food of the prisoner will be merely that which is absolutely necessary to sustain life, and anything beyond this must be purchased by labour, for which every facility will be given.

This rule should be general. I see no reason why a debtor, or a person placed in prison upon civil process of any kind, should claim a right to indulgence; neither do

I consider that the man committed for trial has a right, upon the plea of his assumed innocence, or rather of his non-conviction of guilt, to claim that the country should give him board and lodging gratis; or, at all events, should, on the ground that his residence in gaol is compulsory, do more than give him the mere means of sustaining life, in the shape of a certain amount of bread and water.

It may be said, however, that in establishing such a rule, the distinctions between misfortune and crime, and between innocence and guilt, are abolished. To this I reply, that in 999 cases out of 1,000, the inhabitant of a gaol is placed there from some fault of his own; if it be not crime in its ordinary sense, which has placed him there, it is folly or obstinacy, and I do not see that these are adequate reasons for maintaining him at the expense of the community. It is a common expression, 'Oh! it is a man's misfortune, not his fault;' but, with respect to those matters which place a man within the walls of a gaol, the saying is altogether incorrect; at all events, in 999 cases out of 1,000, it is the *fault* of the man that has brought misfortune upon him.

If we look into a few of the cases in which persons who have not committed crimes are confined in gaol, the correctness of the above statement will be recognised. A man is confined because he cannot find sureties for his good behaviour; in this case it is the conduct of the man himself, his habitual want of self-control, which renders people unwilling to guarantee his good conduct. A debtor is confined for non-payment of his creditors; not for any fraudulent conduct, but for a simple non-payment of a sum due; whose fault is this? Surely that of the man, who, knowing the amount of his means, has not hesitated to incur debts which he knew well that he was unable to pay. Then, with reference to men awaiting trial, it is said that they ought to have the benefit of the

presumption that every man is to be considered innocent until he is proved to be guilty; true, but this assumed innocence, under the presumption of guilt, which has induced the magistrate to commit him for trial, should not give this man any claim to indulgence beyond the ordinary prison diet, and this diet should be merely sufficient to sustain life.

The difference between the convicted man, or the man who is sentenced to imprisonment as a punishment, and the man committed for trial, or who is incarcerated merely for safe custody, may be shown by giving to the latter, after deducting such an amount as may be sufficient to pay for the cost of his maintenance, the whole of the proceeds of his labour, valued at the ordinary market rate, while the labour of the former should be considered as the property of the country, and be appropriated according to the instructions laid down by the Government. A portion would, of course, go towards improving the diet of the prisoner, a portion towards the purchase of such indulgences as he might wish for, and the remainder, after defraying all the expenses of the establishment, might be appropriated to the prisoner's use, and be allowed to accumulate in the Savings Bank for him, till he is discharged, when it will form a fund upon which he may maintain himself until he can find steady employment.

Imprisonment, then, with labour, is to form the substance of a system of Secondary Punishment. It remains, however, to define clearly the meaning of the term imprisonment. Hitherto it has been too commonly the case, that, owing to the want of proper means of classifying and separating offenders, a prison has been a school in which the young and inexperienced offender has learned, from his older and more experienced companions, lessons of crime, which, as soon as he is released, he commences to practise. The law, acting upon broad and general principles, classifies crime under different heads, and allots to

each class a certain amount of punishment; the motives which have led to crime can seldom be investigated, and the consequence is, that the same kind of punishment must necessarily be awarded to the experienced thief and to the young man who has yielded to a sudden and strong temptation. Now I am by no means inclined to allow that the suddenness and violence of the temptation should be admitted as an excuse for the commission of crime, or that it should free the offender from the consequences of such crime; but I do maintain that the arrangements of the gaol, and the system of classification adopted therein, should be such as to remove, as far as possible, the evils arising from the herding of prisoners together, and, by so doing, give every possible opportunity for the reformation of the less hardened, while it should remove from the old and hardened the means of indulging that worst part of their evil nature which leads them to wish to drag others down into the same depth of iniquity in which they find themselves plunged. The simplest and most effective mode in which this can be done, is by enforcing a system of separation, except during the hours devoted to work. Each prisoner, of whatever class he may be, should, on his entry into prison, be provided with a separate apartment, in which he will sleep and take his meals; in many instances, indeed in most, the separation between the cells may be of the slightest description; a proper system of classification will enable the authorities of the gaol to group together in such sets of apartments those who need but the mere form of separation, while the more hardened offenders, and those upon whose intercourse with their neighbours it would be desirable to place as many checks as possible, may be confined in cells, properly so called, and placed, when at work, under a more rigid system of surveillance.

A general summary of the principles under which it

is proposed to carry out an effective system of Secondary Punishment may be briefly given as follows.

Imprisonment for certain fixed and specified periods, no diminution of which is to be admitted unless upon special and peculiar grounds. This imprisonment to involve the separation of the prisoners during all hours save those of work and instruction.

Constant labour, the fruits of which are to be expended, first, in procuring such an improvement in the ordinary prison diet as may be necessary for the prisoners; second, in defraying the cost of the prison establishment; third, in establishing a fund for the benefit of each individual prisoner, either on his discharge from prison, or, should he be confined merely for safe custody, on his application for any matter which he may wish to procure, and which the rules of the gaol will admit of his having. Having established these general principles, I will now endeavour to apply them to the particular circumstances of this Colony; and I may observe that the deficient supply of labour will, for many years to come, afford to the Government ample opportunities of finding employment for the prisoners at such a remunerative rate as may, under a proper system, enable them to pay the whole cost of their maintenance. In order, however, to this, it will be necessary to pay a good deal of attention to the classification of prisoners, to the establishment of proper scales of work and of prices, and to the maintenance, generally, of a proper system of responsibility among the officers. In order to this, a proper Inspector of Prisons should be appointed, with an adequate salary, and upon him should be thrown the whole responsibility of working the system. His power should not, of course, extend to making regulations, but he should be called upon to report constantly as to the state of the different prisons, to make such suggestions for the improvement of the discipline of each as he may think advisable, to point out any defects

in existing regulations, to keep a watch over the conduct of the officers.

As labour is to form a necessary part of the punishment of offenders, it will be desirable to collect the prisoners at points where there will be a sufficient market for the produce of their labour; and it would seem to follow from this that the main body should be collected in or near Sydney. No difficulty will be found in providing every description of work for the prisoners in ample quantity, while in the rural districts it may often be difficult to find a demand for the particular quality of labour which the gaoler may have at his disposal. Among the labour which is likely to be in extensive demand for many years to come in the vicinity of Sydney, I may instance that of quarrying and breaking stone for the roads and streets. For this there will always be an extensive demand, and it would be advisable, looking to the future as well as the present, that the Government should take steps to purchase such an area of land containing what is commonly termed whinstone or ironstone, as would be sufficient to supply metal for the streets of Sydney and the roads in the environs for many years to come. Forty or fifty acres of the best of the whinstone for streets will give a supply for many years to come, even considering the large increase which, in the course of that time, will be made in the annual demand. There is a bed of this material beyond Parramatta, and, I believe, another bed at a nearer point, namely, Canterbury; at either of these places it would be as well to erect a new prison, capable of containing from 400 to 500 men. To this place all men sentenced to terms of imprisonment of less than twelve or eighteen months should be sent, and they should all be employed in quarrying and breaking stone. Arrangements for conveying this away by the Railway could easily be made, and the conveyance of say 20,000 tons of broken stone annually would be no trifling addition to the proceeds of

the Railway. The effect of constructing this prison would be to relieve the gaols of Darlinghurst and Parramatta of several of their inmates, and thus the Government would be enabled to find accommodation and labour for the prisoners now employed at Cockatoo Island, but for whom, in the course of twelve months, no profitable employment will remain. It will probably be necessary, both at Darlinghurst and at Parramatta, to make various alterations in the gaols, in order to adapt them to the new system. It may also be desirable that the Government should get possession of some ground in the immediate vicinity of these gaols in order to secure the means hereafter of extending them; at Darlinghurst, especially, this will be required, for the plan of the present building will not admit of much extension, neither will there be space within the walls for the erection of the different workshops and stores of material which will be required when all the prisoners are compelled to work. A large space in the different prisons is occupied by female prisoners. It is very desirable that a separate building should be provided for women, and that the system pursued with regard to them should be different in detail, though not in principle, from that adopted with the men. In each gaol it will, of course, be necessary to provide for women committed for trial, but it would be desirable that all women sentenced for periods of imprisonment exceeding six months should be sent to the central prison, which should be established in or near Sydney. It has been suggested that the building at Tarban Creek might be made available as a female prison; but I think that it would be far better to select a site nearer Sydney, and to erect a well-arranged prison, capable of extension, if necessary, than to attempt to adapt an old building, like that of Tarban Creek, which would require so much alteration and repair as would make it almost as costly as a new building, and yet, after all, be by no means well adapted to its purpose.

The scheme of penal discipline herein sketched out does not recognise any of the indulgences which form a part of our present system of Secondary Punishment. Tickets of leave and conditional pardons were very appropriate adjuncts to a system under which transportation or banishment formed the effective portion of the punishment inflicted upon an offender, but they are altogether uncalled for and inappropriate when imprisonment is substituted for transportation.

This latter sentence, involving as it did the removal of the offender for a given term of years, or for ever, from the land of his birth, from his family and friends, was, so to say, completed when he was landed in the Colony. The coercion and restraint under which he was placed afterwards must be looked upon principally as police regulations, and the indulgences of tickets of leave, &c. as relaxations, with regard to particular individuals, of these police restrictions, not as remission of the punishment of transportation.

The case is very different where the sentence passed upon the prisoner is merely imprisonment for a certain period; any remission of this is, in point of fact, an actual diminution of the punishment due to his offence, and may be looked upon as tantamount to an admission on the part of the Government that the sentence passed was too severe. The effect of the withdrawal of these indulgences will, of course, be to increase the number of prisoners confined in the different gaols, possibly to the extent of one-third or thereabouts. Provision must therefore be made for this increased number; this, however, will be done effectively by the new prisons proposed to be erected for the women and the short-sentenced prisoners, and by such additions and alterations as it may be possible to make in the existing gaols of Bathurst, Maitland, and Goulburn; and although the expense to be incurred will be heavy, yet I think that

there is but little doubt that the annual cost of the maintenance of the prisoners will be reduced to an extent which will enable the Government to meet the charge for the interest of the capital expended upon these buildings, without any additional vote of the Legislature.

Before I conclude, it will be desirable that I should say a few words as to the reformatory part of the proposed system of Secondary Punishment, which I believe to be as fully provided for as in any of those systems of which it forms the leading principle.

In the first place, by maintaining the separation of prisoners during all the hours when they are not at work, most of the evils which arise from the mixture of prisoners are avoided; the old and hardened offender has not the opportunity of contaminating the young, and the prison ceases to be a place of education for thieves. The steady, unremitting labour, which, however, is shown to bring its reward with it, is the best corrective to those habits of idleness and self-indulgence which have led the prisoner into crime.

In addition to these, which form the actual punishment to which the offender is sentenced, no opportunity should be lost of communicating instruction; schools and schoolmasters should be provided, and every inducement held out to those who have had some amount of education to avail themselves of the means of improvement, while those who have not had any instruction as children should be made to attend school.

It is not, however, mere instruction in reading and writing, or even in those matters to which the capacity to read forms a necessary introduction, that will produce any change in the prisoner which may deserve the name of reformation; this can only be due to such a change in the heart as may induce an alteration in the principles upon which the prisoner has been accustomed to act. Hitherto everything has been sacrificed to self; his own

convenience, the gratification of his own appetites and passions, has been his only motive of action; he must learn to restrain himself, to look to others instead of himself; in fact, he must guide himself in accordance with those principles which religion, and religion only, inculcates.

In order, however, to give to those who have been brought up from their youth in wickedness and sin an opportunity of seeing the error of their ways, and seeking help from HIM who only can give it, proper means of religious instruction should be provided by the Government. The labour of an earnest and zealous clergyman may do much among prisoners when the whole system of the prison tends to give effect to his teaching, but it will be comparatively ineffective when his exhortations are neutralised by the evil example and evil conversation of those with whom the prisoner is compelled to associate.

All these details, however, form necessary portions of every proper penal system, and I only allude to them at present for the purpose of showing that they are as easily grafted upon the one herein suggested as upon any other, and that they are, in point of fact, more likely to produce their proper fruit when aided by the regulations which provide for the separation of the prisoner and for wholesome inducements to labour, than where they are stimulated into unwholesome activity by the rewards held out to them.

(Signed) W. DENISON.

May 18, 1857.

NOTE.—In 1858 the Government of New South Wales acted partially upon the principles laid down in this Memorandum, and orders were issued that every man sentenced to imprisonment after a stated date should undergo the whole of his sentence, whatever it might be.

CHAPTER IX.

FIRST IMPRESSIONS—SCHOOLS—PATRIOTIC FUND—GOOD FEELING OF THE COLONISTS—NEWCASTLE—ORANGE GARDEN—VINE-GROWING—BOTANY BAY—NEW RAILWAY—ORPHAN SCHOOLS AT PARRAMATTA—GOOSEBERRY FOOL—MINT.—RAILWAY—PUNCH—NEWS OF THE FALL OF SEBASTOPOL—FEELING EXCITED IN THE COLONY—COMMENCEMENT OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT—JOURNEY TO BATHURST AND SOFALA.

Extract from Journal.

Government House, Sydney, January 24, 1855.

DEAREST ——,—I must take up my history where I left it off, just after our arrival here. W—— was sworn in on Saturday. I perceived in the course of that ceremonial, that much more attention is paid here to official dress, &c. than was the custom in Van Diemen's Land. All the chief Government officers appeared in uniform, or official costume; and when the ceremony was over, I was told that the judges requested to be presented to me; and up they came to the great staircase (where I and the other ladies present were stationed), all in robes and wigs, such as I had never seen before. The attendance was not very large, for nobody but official people seemed to be admitted; not a crowd of spectators, as was the case in Van Diemen's Land. The ladies who came that day were chiefly the wives and daughters of the principal Government officers; and amongst them, I had the pleasure of seeing one nice old familiar face;—that of Mrs. Bedford, the widow of our former clergyman in Hobart Town, who is living here with her daughter, Lady Stephen, the wife of the Chief Justice. On Sunday morning we *drove* to church, it being the opinion of those who know the churches that it was too far to walk. I do not think so; indeed we *did*

walk there in the evening, certainly without the slightest fatigue; and it was the most lovely evening that could be. Since Sunday my life has passed in a succession of busy, *settling* mornings, in sitting, from two till half-past-four each afternoon, to receive visitors, and then out driving till seven. This is the anniversary regatta day here, and we are to go on board the 'Calliope' to witness it; but I must leave this to another letter. Love to all.

To Lady Hornby.

Sydney, December 8, 1855.

My dear Mammy,—I wrote a few lines in L——'s last letter just to let you know that I had got yours. I was then too busy to do more; but now, though I have no lack of work, I shall find time to fill a sheet to you, thanking you, in the first place, for your kind promise to be a mother to my boys when we send them to England; and giving you, in the second, some sketch of my position here, with its comforts and discomforts, advantages and disadvantages. What blessings children are! they are truly a gift from the Lord; not perhaps always in themselves, but in the reference they compel us to make to God; in the comparisons which we are induced to draw between the relations of our children to ourselves and ourselves to God. The pain which we feel in correcting a child; the conviction that we so act *because* we love the child, not because we hate it, is but a faint type of the love with which God chastens us, of the sorrow with which He laments over our sins, as rendering punishment necessary. None but a parent can have these feelings, at all events to the same extent to which they are developed in the heart of a father or mother; and in this respect I say again, what blessings children are! And now, with the kindest appreciations of the love which induced you to offer a home to my poor boys, I will give you some account of my position here.

In the first place, I have a vast mass of work thrown upon me. I have not only the ordinary questions which arise day by day, and which, to a man unacquainted with the localities, or the people, require a careful consideration of what in a few months will be decided almost instinctively; but I have a series of matters which, having been entered upon by my predecessor, and brought to a certain stage where decision or action was required, have been left to me to complete. Politically, I hardly know how I stand. The papers opposed to Sir Charles FitzRoy have taken me up, on the faith of some published despatches of mine relative to the mode of electing an Upper House: from these they infer that I shall be ready to do my best to overthrow a system adverse to my views; but they are grievously mistaken. I look upon change as an evil of great magnitude, not to be encountered unless for the removal of some greater evils, or the introduction of some special good. I shall therefore not stir in the matter, and shall most certainly not accede to the prayer of a petition about to be addressed to me, asking me to dissolve the present Legislative Council.

You have heard, I dare say, much of the beauty of Sydney harbour; and truly nothing can be more beautiful, so far as the mere water outline is concerned. The inlet is broken into an innumerable number of bays, some of them running for miles into the country. These are, in many instances, dotted on the shore with houses or villas of some pretension, which, when looked at from the sea, give an inhabited effect to a landscape otherwise rather monotonous; for the shores are not more than 100 or 150 feet high, and they are covered with a dingy-coloured scrub. In the distance, some forty or fifty miles off, I can faintly distinguish the broken and rugged aspect of the Blue Mountains. I went the other day with L. to visit the national schools. The children answered several questions in grammar, geography, &c., and were very quick

indeed in mental arithmetic. I am to lay the first stone of the university in the course of a week or so. Grammar schools are about to be established, and I dare say in the course of a few years there will be at the disposal of the colonists fair means of educating their children. The children at the national school were good-looking, but had not that fresh, healthy colour which characterised those of Van Diemen's Land, but this I do not wonder at; the hot days, and what is worse, the hot nights of the summer months, must have an action on the complexion of the children, though it does not seem to affect their health. For my part, however, I have no reason to complain of the weather; we had three very hot days, but these we were assured were exceptions to the general run of summer heat. With the exception of these the weather has never been hot enough to keep us within doors, or to make us feel exercise oppressive.

God bless you. Give our best love to all. Your affectionate Son,

W. D.

Extract from Journal.

February 21, 1855.

All the local charities are coming upon us now for our patronage; and as W—— and I do not like merely to give our name and our subscription, and do nothing, we are going through a course of visiting the different institutions, which interests me much. Yesterday afternoon we spent, W—— in presiding, and I in listening, at a public meeting called in consequence of that letter or message from the Queen, inviting all persons to aid in forming a Patriotic Fund, for the relief of the widows and orphans of the soldiers and sailors killed in the Crimea; and as Governors-General, Governors, and Lieutenant-Governors of colonies were specially named in that message and appointed commissioners in aid, W—— thought he might as well agree to take the chair on the occasion; and it was well that he

did so, for his presence really helped to give a stimulus to the whole affair. The meeting was held in the theatre, the dress boxes of which were reserved for ladies, and the Governor's box for me and my party. W—— was very cordially received when he came in; but what charmed me most was the feeling of the people; there seemed such a hearty loyalty towards England, such an evident pride in being spoken of as Britons, and having their British sympathies appealed to, (any expression of the kind being sure to be followed by hearty applause,) such a cordial recognition of the blessings they enjoyed under English rule, and of the claims, therefore, which England had on them, (a point which was repeatedly dwelt on by the speakers, and always cordially applauded,) that it was delightful to see. *Six thousand pounds* were subscribed on the spot; though this was only the commencement, and there are still collections to be made all over the colony; and then the people in the pit and gallery worked off the rest of their enthusiasm by giving cheers for the Queen, for W—— and for me, the Emperor of the French, and Lord Raglan; and wound up by three groans for the Czar! and a strange, uncouth sound that popular groan is. W—— was so vehemently cheered when he came out, that he was obliged to beg them to stop, at least till he had got on his horse, for it was so agitated by the crowd and the cheering, that it was no easy matter to mount, and one of the orderlies actually was thrown by the vagaries of his steed, but I believe not hurt.

To Mrs. Denison.

Newcastle, New South Wales, March 18, 1855.

My dearest Mother,—I hope to find a vessel about to sail for England on my return to Sydney, and will therefore get my letters ready during the little trip which I am now making. My object in coming up here was to see with my own eyes, and hear with my own ears, facts and

statements relative to the condition of a part of the colony which is daily becoming of more and more importance. You may perhaps infer, from the name of this place, that it is the centre of the great coal district of New South Wales; and, as the demand for coal is becoming more and more urgent every day, the Americans from California finding it cheaper and easier to get their coal from us than from the States on the east coast, you may imagine that the trade of this place is assuming an importance which, some few years ago, would never have been looked for.

Several complaints were made to me, soon after my arrival in the colony, of the state of things here; and as these were pressed upon me, and I had got through a good deal of my work at Sydney, I decided to run down here for a week; and on Friday I put myself on board of H.M.'s steamer 'Torch,' and reached this place on Saturday morning. Newcastle itself is but a straggling, dirty-looking place; but there are evident signs of prosperity now showing themselves. The colliers, who form a large proportion of the working class in this neighbourhood, are commencing to lay by their wages for the purpose of purchasing land, and houses are springing up in every direction upon small portions of land, which have been purchased either from the Government, or from the Agricultural Company, who are the principal owners in this neighbourhood. A railroad is projected from Newcastle to Maitland, and is afterwards to be extended to the northward. This railroad, which was commenced by a company, is now, or rather soon will be, in the hands of the Government, and I am striving to arrange a scheme which will enable me to extend the railway system throughout the country. Our roads are infamous: the cost of making a common macadamised road will not be much less than that of constructing some descriptions of railroad, if, indeed, it will be at all less: the cost of keeping it in repair will be

greater than that of a railroad, the cost of conveyance on it much greater. I hope, therefore, to digest a scheme of railroads, applicable to a country like this, which will throw the interior open to settlers, who have been kept from it hitherto by the impossibility of getting stores up or produce down. I am sanguine of being able to do this, and shall spend the next five or six months in experiments. In Victoria their ideas are much greater than mine: they anticipate that their railways are to cost 30,000*l.* per mile, in which case they will not be able to make many miles of them. I hope, on the contrary, to make mine for about 5,000*l.* at the utmost, and thus, for the same money, to construct six times the number of miles; not perhaps so substantially or luxuriously, but quite strong enough for common purposes, and for speeds of from ten to twelve miles per hour. However, I will tell you more of them when I have made my experiments.

I have been hard at work for the last few days, scheming out a plan of education for this colony; whether the Council will adopt it or not, it is difficult to say, but something of the kind is very much wanted. The Council meets on June 6, and I hope to be able to have my business ready for them. I am going to deal frankly and straightforwardly with them, and I hope that, by such conduct, I shall induce them to lay aside those jealousies which were almost inseparable accompaniments of the system of former Governments. As much information as possible was withheld from the Council, and then surprise was expressed that the members showed distrust of the Government. I hope I shall be able to give you a good account of our proceedings by the end of the Session. God bless you all.

Your affectionate Son,

W. D.

To Sir Roderick Murchison.

Sydney, May 21, 1855.

My dear Sir Roderick,—Many thanks for your long and interesting letter. It is a real pleasure to me to find that I am not altogether cut off from communication with the scientific world, so whenever you can bestow a few spare minutes upon me, you may be sure that I shall thankfully appreciate and acknowledge your kindness.

I am going to try to persuade the Council to vote a sufficient sum to re-establish the observatory here; and have written to Airy to ascertain whether he can find me a competent observer. We have a geologist, a Mr. Stutchberry, who has been employed for two or three years without, I believe, any very definite object; if I find I can make him useful, I propose to commence a proper survey of the country, and to dovetail him into this, with all the geological information which I can procure. At present my maps are worth nothing. How difficult it is to persuade either individuals or governments, that it is both cheaper and better to do a thing well at once, than to act upon the principle that anything is good enough for the infancy and early life of a colony. You laugh, and with reason, at the panic which led people in these colonies to insist upon fortifying themselves against the Russians. I never partook of this panic; but I have gone into the question of the defence of Sydney for the purpose of keeping off much more unpleasant neighbours than the Russians; namely, our friends the French, and our relations the Americans. The access to this harbour is so easy that unless we have some heavy batteries ready to open fire upon vessels lying off the town, a few frigates might run in under cover of the night, and the first notice I should have of their arrival would be a 32lb shot, crashing through the walls of my house. Of Russia I have not the slightest fear. While, however, you laugh

at us here, we have, upon my word, a full right to pay you in England a similar compliment. I have never been more astonished, and I may say ashamed of my countrymen, than I have been lately on reading the accounts of the mode in which the question of the state of the army, &c. has been received in England.

The North Australian expedition has been sadly delayed; Mr. Gregory has been here for two or three months waiting for his scientific assistants from England. Two have just arrived, but the surgeon and naturalist will not be here for another month. This will throw the expedition very late; and the dry season will come on just as Gregory and his people get to the height of land, and look down upon the sterile interior of the country. Should the country prove fit for occupation, a very few years will see it filled with sheep; the squatters are pressing into the interior beyond Port Curtis already. A man came to see me the other day, who had gone three hundred miles to the northward of that settlement. I am not, however, altogether pleased with this tendency to spread; there are many reasons which would lead me to wish to see the population more concentrated. How can I make roads for people scattered over a country twelve or fifteen hundred miles in length, and upwards of three hundred miles wide? Where am I to get labour or money for such a purpose? How are the people to be educated? How are they to associate themselves together to form a society? They will become like the South African Boers; the parent may be an educated man, his children in the bush must be altogether illiterate. The want of education is felt already as a great and crying evil: when I say, felt, it is so by the few, but the mass, of course, are insensible to it.

I must not, however, lengthen my letter unreasonably, so good bye.

Yours very truly,

W. D.

To the Bishop of Newcastle.

Government House, Sydney, June 18, 1855.

My dear Lord,—Thank you very much for your letter, which reached me this morning. I am glad to hear that you propose coming to Sydney soon. I shall then have the opportunity of discussing subjects of great interest to us both, with the assistance of the Bishop of Sydney; and I hope we may be able to arrange some scheme of endowment which will relieve the ministers of religion generally from their present equivocal, and, I may say, miserable condition, and provide for the extension of the means of the Church, without which, I confess, I look very hopelessly upon the future of these colonies.

With regard to education, I confess I do not look upon the rate with the same eyes as you appear to do. I am aware that it may press hardly upon the thinly peopled districts; that is, the amount of instruction which they will receive for the same amount of individual payment will not be so great as that received in the town; but they will get their money's worth for their money. The advantages of a rate are: 1st, that it increases in the exact ratio of the population; that is, in the exact proportion to the wants of the community; 2nd, that it puts the proper pressure upon those who in these colonies are indifferent to the education of their children, and is the nearest step to making education compulsory which could be taken. In the Bill, as proposed, there is a provision enabling the different religious communities in towns containing above —— inhabitants, to collect and appropriate their own rates, and to establish Denominational Schools, should they think fit to do so. However, we will talk the matter over when we meet.

I only hope that you will, on every occasion, act as you have now done, and bring under my notice any matter which may, in your opinion, operate either beneficially or

otherwise on the community. I shall be always delighted to assist in carrying out the former, and shall do my best in every way to neutralise the evil produced by the latter. As a sincere member of the Church of England, you will always find me most anxious to assist in any measure which may extend her real boundaries, and bring more into communion with her. This must, I think, be done by means of more effective lay co-operation; however, this is too large a subject to be entered on in a letter. I feel deeply grateful for the kind prayer with which your letter concludes. I assure you that it is my daily prayer that God's blessing may rest upon your labours, and those of the other ministers of God's Word, and that I may be enabled to assist you in your important objects.

I remain, &c.,
W. D.

To Mrs. Denison.

Government House, Sydney, August 1, 1855.

My dearest Mother,—I am in daily expectation of the arrival of the May mail, which ought to have been here some days since. I will, however, commence a letter to be in readiness for her.

The Legislative Council has been sitting nearly two months, and has done marvellous little. There is an evident disinclination on the part of the present members to do much. They look upon this as their last session, and are loth to commit themselves upon any subject which they think will involve them in difficulties at the next election. I am tired of the present system, which places the Government in the position of a sort of Guy Fawkes, a figure for everyone to throw dirt at. I have no right, however, to complain individually; the abuse which is lavished on the Government is expended upon its officers and special exception is made in my favour,—the only

objection to me being that I do too much, while some of the other officers do too little. This latter, however, will be amended under the new state of things.

We have had most beautiful weather, still, calm, and cool; so cool as to make a fire always pleasant, yet not in any way unpleasantly cold. I, and the four older children, took a beautiful ride the other day. We crossed the harbour, having previously sent our horses over in the ferry boat, and rode for about ten miles through the bush, till we came to a clearance, containing a few houses surrounded with orange gardens. We got off, and were admitted into one, containing about thirty acres, of which fifteen were planted with oranges and lemons, and the remainder with peaches, vines, &c. I never saw anything more beautiful than the deep healthy green of the orange leaves, contrasted with the bright yellow of the fruit, with which every tree was loaded. The gardener told me he had picked 400 dozen off one tree, of the mandarin orange. The overseer said that in 1854 he sold 57,000 dozen oranges, that this year the crop was inferior, and that he did not expect to gather more than 40,000 dozen. He will, however, get as much, I dare say, this year as last,—that is, about 3,000*l.* from fifteen acres, a very good return. There were many varieties of orange in the garden; such as the ordinary St. Michael, the Maltese blood orange, Mandarins, and the Bahia orange without any pips. Lemons and shaddocks, too, were grown, but the demand for these is not large enough to make it worth while to cultivate them extensively. The ground was kept in perfect order, quite clean, and free from weeds or grass; and the trees, having a dressing of manure every third year, looked very healthy. There was not a yellow leaf to be seen amongst them.

To Mrs. Denison.

Government House, Sydney, September 6, 1855.

My dearest Mother,—I have taken a run up the country to the house of a Mr. Macleay, a distance of about forty miles from Sydney. I went by the railroad for the first seventeen miles, the whole line having been laid, though the stations are not yet built. The grand opening is to be on the 26th of this month, when we intend to do our best to imbue the good people of Sydney with a taste for railroad travelling, and so get them to enter heart and soul into my scheme for the extension of railroads all over the country, as the readiest means of developing its resources. The country through which I travelled is one which will benefit most particularly by a cheaper and better kind of transport than it possesses at present; as it is principally agricultural land, and the proprietors, Mr. Macarthur (who owns 28,000 acres) and Mr. Macleay, are letting their land in farms to tenants, so that a very large area will soon be under cultivation. Mr. Macarthur is the great wine-producer of the country; and I went through his cellars and tasted his wine, some of which, a sweet wine, was, I thought, very good, and some of the other wines very fair. There is still a peculiar twang, a sort of bitter taste, which has to be got rid of by some means or other, before they can hope to come into competition with the wines of Europe; but I see no reason why care and attention should not rid them of this, and Australian wine combine with wool, wheat, and gold, to furnish articles of exchange for the manufactures of England and Europe.

To Mrs. Stanley.

September 16, 1855.

My dear Mrs. Stanley,—L—— is writing to you, and will give you the domestic news, so I will turn to the

political. I see that the New Constitution Bill has been read a second time; I infer, therefore, that it will pass without much modification, and that, in another six weeks, I shall have it here, and be taking steps to carry out its provisions. As is always the case, those who cried out most for responsible Government are now by no means satisfied with the prospect of the article they have got. They begin to see that the elements which they thought could easily be found in this colony, are not in such quantities as will give me much choice in my men. They see also lots of hungry political adventurers striving to push themselves forward into importance, and they begin to think that 'let well alone' is a good and useful proverb. However, we are in for it now, and the only question is, how can one work the new system with most comfort to oneself, and benefit to the colony? This is a problem which I confess I have not solved yet. In the meantime my present Council, being aware of its forthcoming dissolution, is unwilling to do anything. The estimates have been before it for more than three months, and but little or nothing has been done. I am going to withdraw most of the measures of importance which have been introduced, for I see, evidently, that not one of them will be carried out by the present men. We open the railway to Parramatta on the 26th, and this I think will be an era in New South Wales. My proposition is that we now devote all our energies to the construction of railways, as being the best kind of road, and that we borrow money largely for this construction, paying off our debt by the sale of land in the vicinity of the road.

Extract from Journal.

October 24, 1855.

Yesterday afternoon we took all the children to Botany Bay, drank tea there, and came home with the last of the daylight and first of the moonlight. I had been only

once at Botany Bay before, and then it was a bad day, so I wanted to see it in its better aspect; but I am still confirmed in my first opinion,—that it is rather a melancholy-looking place; and the road to it dreary in the extreme. On Thursday, the day after I wrote last, W—— and I went to Parramatta, to visit the Orphan Schools, of which there are two, supported by Government; one for Protestants, and one for Roman Catholics. We went by the railroad, which is now regularly established in operation, and paying very well; and really it is pleasant to see our infant railway already adopting all the airs of an English one; station houses, &c. looking just the same; and it is quite refreshing to hear the whistle, and the guards calling out the names of the different stations; it sounds so homelike. Still more pleasing is it to see the sort of effect it is producing on people's minds here, and the interest and pleasure they seem to take in it. We took our carriage and horses up with us by the train, to facilitate our work at Parramatta; and as soon as we arrived there, we drove off to the Protestant Orphan School. This is called a 'Government' establishment; but no person, and no department, has ever yet been specially appointed to look after it; 'what is everybody's business is nobody's;' and the effect of this neglect is painfully apparent. Oh! I cannot give you an adequate idea of the dirt, the neglect, the discomfort, and wretchedness in which these poor children live! No order or system anywhere; nothing done to give the children self-respect, to show them that they are really cared for, or to give them habits of order or regular discipline. W—— and I went about shrugging our shoulders, and making faces of disgust at each other, but not otherwise going beyond a mild hint or suggestion, or a reproof implied rather than expressed, for we did not want to be too severe in our remarks at first; but I found myself constrained to break through this reserve at

last, when, on going into the infants' dormitory, and finding myself fairly driven out again by the stench, I was myself appealed to by the matron, with a 'You know, my lady, it is impossible, where there are so many little ones, to keep the place sweet and clean.' I could not hold my peace any longer; and plainly told her that I thought it was possible; and I quoted, as an example, the Orphan School at Hobart Town, where they had a larger number of infants than she had here, and where I had been through and through the dormitories, and never perceived the slightest thing of the kind. We staid to see the children at dinner; and W——'s remark was, that 'he had often seen a kennel of hounds fed with far more nicety, cleanliness, and care, than was bestowed on these poor children!' We returned to the inn unhappy and disgusted, and then we drove to the Roman Catholic school, which was in better order.

November 3.—We had a very nice little concert here yesterday evening; and I produced a decided sensation in the refreshment room, by the introduction, amongst other eatables, of a quantity of gooseberry fool. Gooseberries will not grow in this hot country, except in far away parts, on high lands, in the interior; but we had just had a hamper of green gooseberries sent up from Van Diemen's Land by steamer, so we did the honour of this *novel* dish (for it is a novelty here) with great zest. The English-born portion of the guests were delighted; 'it was like home, and they had tasted nothing so good for years;' of the younger people born in the colony, many, who, from the crowded state of the room, did not hear our explanation of the matter, passed it by altogether, not knowing in the least what it was: others were very curious to taste it; one lady told me 'she had often *heard* of gooseberry fool!' and therefore she was delighted to taste it, and highly approved of it. Yesterday afternoon we received dearest Mammy's little box. I have often

thought what a pretty subject for a picture might be made of 'the opening of the English box;' how it would speak to the feelings of those who had ever lived for any length of time in foreign lands or distant colonies! With us it is a regular family festival: if anybody is out of the way, the opening is postponed till they can be present; and then all the children assemble, from their different parts of the house, even down to J——, who looks on with as intense an interest as if he was at all likely to have any individual concern in the matter.

To Colonel Harness, R.E.

November 15.

My dear Harness,—Ward is here, working out his Mint satisfactorily in face of a good deal of opposition. In point of fact, the establishment of a Mint was advocated by the Council here on wrong grounds altogether; and when I arrived, and had looked over the papers on the subject, the difference between the views of the original proposers and those of the persons who then maintained the establishment of a Mint, struck me as most marked and curious; in fact, they were exactly opposed to each other. However, both parties recommended the maintenance of the Mint, and I, after talking the matter over with Ward, came to the same conclusion. We got the Mint to work, and have been gradually increasing the amount of the coinage till it exceeds one and a half millions yearly.

I wrote a long despatch to the Secretary of State on the subject, pressing upon him the advantage which would be derived from making this in reality, that which it professes to be, a branch of the Royal Mint, and giving to the coinage the title of 'Coin of the Realm.'* At present the people of Victoria refuse to consider it as a legal tender, and have put a duty of 2*s.* 6*d.* per ounce on

* This has since been done.

the export of it, treating it as bullion. They have, however, forgotten that this export duty is, in point of fact, a premium upon the export of British sovereigns, most of which are leaving the country, while the Sydney coinage is fast supplying its place. If the Government were to make this Mint a branch of the Royal Mint, the result would be that a large proportion of the gold coinage of the British empire would emanate from it; the raw material would have its stamp affixed to it, and be sent in that state to England, instead of, as now, going there in the shape of dust. Should coinage increase, the cost of the establishment would be met by a very trifling percentage upon the gold brought in. I look forward to a great extension of our public works, especially of all those which tend to improve the means of communication. Just figure to yourself a country a thousand miles in length, and three hundred and fifty miles in breadth, without a single river to break the continuity of this long range of country, whose course (navigable) extends more than fifty miles. Roads there are none worthy of the name; for canals you have no water. What is to be done, then, to rescue this country from the sterility to which it is condemned? What means have we of opening it out, and giving to the land a value which will ensure its becoming saleable? Roads, say some;—railroads, say I. I do not, however, contemplate the employment of locomotive engines upon these branches, neither do I wish to attain great speed, if this speed involves a corresponding outlay of money upon the road. I do not wish for passengers a rate of more than ten or twelve miles per hour, and I contemplate that, for many years, horse traffic, both for the conveyance of passengers and goods, will be found cheaper and more easily managed than steam. At present our main line is laid with heavy rails of seventy-five pounds to the yard; a large engine is employed to do the work, and it is lucky that such is the

case, for the traffic increases daily. I am trying experiments upon the friction of railway wheels, or rather upon their adhesion to wood as compared with iron; my object being to ascertain whether we may not be able to save much cutting in the undulating country through which the railways must pass, and, by the use of wooden rails, to follow the line of the ordinary roads without subjecting ourselves to either heavy rises or inclines, or without being obliged to turn to avoid these. If I could manage to make such lines for 5,000*l.* or 6,000*l.* per mile, I should not hesitate an instant to recommend the construction of such a network of railways as would cost, in the course of twenty years, upwards of twenty millions. This would not be all floating debt; much would be paid off by the increase in the value of land caused by the railroad; the land in the immediate vicinity would have a quadruple price fixed upon it, and even that which is far off would partake in the advantages of the railroad, and have its value increased, though not to the same extent. The Government possesses 200 million acres of land; if by the sacrifice of, say ten or fifteen millions of these, we can give to the remainder a value which it has not, neither can hope to have, without improved means of communication, the bargain would be a satisfactory one, for the remaining 190 millions would be worth far more than the original 200 millions.

Yours truly,
W. D.

Extracts from Journal.

November 27.

W—— and I went across to the North Shore, where I had several visits to pay; but it is a troublesome business going there, as we have to cross the water, and get our carriage and horses over at a ferry. We accomplished a portion of the business very successfully, though only a portion; for I had so many people to visit there,

and they live at such a distance from each other, that one afternoon is not near enough for them all. As we were driving back towards the ferry, we saw before a door a crowd of children, looking like a school just turned out; and such, at first, we took it to be; but as we approached nearer, W——, starting forward in the carriage with a sort of ecstasy, much as he might have done at the unexpected sight of an old friend, exclaimed, 'There's Punch!' 'by the Lord Harry, there is Punch!' his raptures evidently causing great amusement to the footman on the box, who overheard the exclamation, and who, I suppose, being fresh from England, could not at all understand his master's transports at what, to him, must have seemed the most common-place of all sights, but to W—— was like the re-appearance of an old acquaintance, unseen for years. He is so delighted at the idea of there being a Punch in Sydney, that he insists on sending for it to exhibit here some day, in order, as he says, to 'show the Australian children what it is like.'

December 4.—Punch was sent for to come and perform here at Government House a day or two ago, and W—— had a quantity of children to see it. This certainly must be a terrible country, where even Punch is unknown to the children. The man who performed left England in August, and has not been at work more than a month. You should have seen the faces of the children, and their astonishment at the blows given and received by Punch and his friends and enemies.

December 11, 1855.—This morning early, we heard the firing of guns, and, looking out, saw the mail steamer from Melbourne coming in, all dressed out with flags, and firing guns as she went along. Of course we guessed that this portended glorious news of the war, and I could not help being deeply interested, not only about the news itself, but in seeing the feeling it excited. The cheers from the ships in harbour, as the mail

steamer passed them; the people collecting on Fort Macquarie; the very gardener leaving his work to run to the fence that divides our grounds from the shore, in hopes, I suppose, of catching some distant sound, for we could not hear what the news was, only the cheers that betokened something. Then came up a paper, sent by the captain of the steamer, with the news of the fall of Sebastopol. W——, in his excitement, ran about the house with the newspaper in his hand, rousing up our guests to tell them the news, and the girls sang 'God save the Queen' over and over again, nearly all the time they were dressing. W—— sent off to give orders for a salute to be fired; and when the Brigade Major suggested that it should be a salvo of 101 guns, he agreed; so the 'Electra' first fired her 101, and then the battery took it up.

December 12.—To-day is being observed as a general holiday in the place, on account of the fall of Sebastopol; and, independent of the thankfulness which one must feel for the event, and the deep interest which one cannot but take in everything that concerns the glory and prosperity of our very dear country, it is a real pleasure to me to see the cordial, hearty tone of feeling existing in these colonies about it; the way in which they identify themselves with England, take a pride in her glories, and sympathise in everything that concerns her.

December 20.—Yesterday may be considered to have been the commencement of the new order of things here. You know, perhaps, that New South Wales and all the Australian colonies are in process of receiving new constitutions, and are to have Parliaments of their own! and responsible ministers!! &c., and this change of system made it necessary that a new commission as Governor should be issued to W——, and that he should be sworn in over again. The new commission arrived by the last mail, and the ceremony of swearing in took place yesterday, at twelve o'clock, in the great hall of this house. At

two o'clock, he went down to prorogue the Council, which, I suppose, will never meet again, unless he should have to call them together for a short time to arrange some of the preliminaries for the new Parliament. Though rejoicing in the comparative holiday which he will enjoy, now that the session is over, the good man finds himself somewhat in an awkward position, without an Executive Council. Under this new *régime*, he no longer has his Executive Council nominated by the Queen, but has to choose for himself whom he pleases, and as many as he pleases; and, for some reason or other, he cannot well choose them just now, and yet there are many things to be done that cannot be done without them.

It is amusing to see these young countries starting with their new constitutions. In the neighbour colony of Victoria, our friend Captain C—— wrote to us that he was one of the 'first *débutants*,' that is, one of the first set of responsible ministers; this was, I think, not a month ago, and they have had a 'ministerial crisis' there already, and he and all his colleagues have been out and in again! This is, fortunately, an older community than that of Victoria, but, even here, I suspect we shall have some odd scenes before people and things in general settle down into a quiet state of working under the new *régime*.

To Mrs. Denison.

Bathurst, December 30, 1855.

My dearest Mother,—I came up here partly to have a look at the gold fields, and partly to open a bridge which had just been constructed across the Macquarie river. This is one of the tributaries of the Murray, the great outlet of all the water draining from the west side of the backbone of Australia. The distance from Sydney is only about a hundred and twenty miles, and yet it has

carried me from the east to the west of this main range, which, though it is not like the Rocky Mountains, or the Andes, or even like the Apennines, yet has a character of its own, and is by no means an easy backbone to get across with bag and baggage.

I stayed at Sydney to keep Christmas with L—— and the children, and we had a merry evening as usual. The day after Christmas, I started with my aide-de-camp and Mr. M——. We had sent our horses on to Parramatta, intending to ride, and we packed our baggage and servants upon a sort of four-wheeled dog-cart upon springs, which we took to Parramatta upon the train. We rode from Parramatta to Penrith on the Hawkesbury, and, staying there for half-an-hour, crossed the river, and began to ascend the hills by a road cut out of the sandstone rock on the side of a gully. On our way up we met two or three mobs of cattle being driven down to Sydney, and, the road being narrow, had some difficulty in persuading them to pass us. Luckily they had been driven for some distance, and had had their wildness taken out of them, for had they shown a disposition to charge us, we should have had some difficulty in getting out of their way.

However, after tugging up the hill for three miles, we arrived at our resting place for the night, a little inn in the shape of a cottage with five rooms, one of which in the centre was the bar or tap, with a sitting-room and bed-room opening from it on each side. Everything was clean and comfortable. In the morning we were rather disgusted to find that we should have to ride in the rain; our proposed day's journey was to be about twenty-seven miles, and having made such preparations as we could, we started, leaving our baggage to follow. We had not gone five miles before we were wet to the skin, and having ridden about seventeen miles, we determined to put up at an inn, and wait for our carriage. We were obliged to undress and go to bed while our clothes were being

dried; and as the rain continued without intermission, we decided to remain where we were for the night, and, considering all things, we were very fairly comfortable. The next day was drizzling, but not wet enough to make us very uncomfortable; and we rode about thirty-two miles, crossing in the distance the great mass of the coal measures, extending from the coast about eighty miles, and rising gradually to a height of four or five thousand feet. The point where we began to descend must have been nearly four thousand feet above the sea, and we looked down over a steep cliff with a drop of several hundred feet, into a valley of quite a different character from any we had seen. Indeed the soil changed altogether; on the hills it was a barren sandstone; in the valley it was a species of decomposing granite, upon the soil of which grass grew plentifully. But how can I describe the road which is the main line of communication by which the western settlers send their wool to market, and get up their stores? I have seen many bad roads, but so bad a one as this I never met before; cut up in every direction with ruts and watercourses, my only wonder was how anything upon wheels could manage to get along it. Still the drays with wool going down to Sydney, and those returning with stores for settlers, kept ploughing their way through the mud, some drawn by ten or twelve bullocks, others by five or six horses; most of them being carts, that is, running on two wheels, carrying a load of from two to four tons. Having got down the hill into the granite or gold country, we did not find our roads much improved for some time, but on getting nearer to Bathurst, the weather had been better, and the ground was dry. I rode into the town at the head of about a hundred horsemen who had come out to meet me, and who welcomed me most cordially. On New Year's day I am to open the bridge over the Macquarie, which has been just completed; and am to be present

at a ball in the evening. I propose, then, to proceed to the north to inspect one or two of the gold fields; and to return to Sydney by the middle of January, in order to meet my Colonial Secretary, who will by that time have returned from England, and to arrange with him as to the future Government of the colony. If he is disposed to undertake to form a government, I shall be very glad to put matters into his hands, as I think it very probable that he will be able to secure a majority in the new Council. Should he, however, not be willing to try this, I shall have to make overtures to others; and we shall have to form a sort of coalition ministry, which, judging from the process now going on in England, does not seem likely to prosper. I will not attempt to prophesy further than this, that I shall have a good deal of trouble in organising anything like an effective Government, whoever may be at the head; for in these colonies there is but little of the instinct of party. In Victoria the Government which was installed about three weeks ago has been ejected. I do not think that the persons who have come in to replace it will have a long existence, and amidst this chopping and changing of heads, what is to become of the business of the country? It will take some time to teach these political neophytes that the details of the work of a Government are not to be picked up in a week or so. In the meantime, the subordinates by whom the regular business of the Government must be conducted, and who are to all intents and purposes irresponsible, will have the charge of what people choose to term a '*responsible Government.*' We shall see what they will make of it.

To Sir Roderick Murchison.

Sydney, January 23, 1856.

My dear Sir Roderick,—I got your letter of October 19 a few days ago, and sit down to reply to it at once. I

shall find time to do so, in spite of the calls made upon me when, in consequence of the change in the constitution of the colony, I am engaged in the laborious, but, at the same time, amusing work of forming a *ministry*. My old Secretaries will not remain, and I have, therefore, the task of selecting, among numerous candidates, the man who will be likely to unite the greatest number of suffrages in his favour, and thus to remain longest in office. I am afraid, however, looking to the analogy between the state of things here and in England, that his tenure of office will be but short; for if I, during the last year, have had no fewer than *six* masters, in the shape of Secretaries of State for the Colonies, what can I expect to happen in a colony where, instead of about six subdivisions or sections of party, such as you have in England, I have as many parties as there are individual members of the legislature? Every man here 'fights for his own hand,' as did Hal of the Wynd, and very few will sacrifice their own hobbies for the sake of their party.

I have just returned from a visit to Bathurst, about 120 miles to the west of Sydney, and to the gold diggings in its neighbourhood. I rode across the coal measures from Sydney to their westerly outcrop or upheaval, say about eighty miles. I cannot, of course, give you any other than an engineer's description, but the structure of the country was very curious and striking. From Sydney to the Hawkesbury, or Nepean, at Penrith, a distance of about twenty-four miles, the country is low and undulating; the river at Penrith is not above fifty feet above high water mark. About half a mile on the west side of the river, the sandstone of the coal measures is uplifted at once to the height of about 800 feet, and the road winds up a ravine with precipitous sides to the top of the first lift; then, for forty miles, it runs upon the top of this plateau, rising steadily upon the whole to the highest point, which is about 4,000 feet above the

sea. The ridge upon which the road runs varies in width, but is bounded to the right and left by two valleys with scarped sides, descending at once 500 feet or thereabouts. From the highest point, the ground drops at once about 1,000 feet, and the road, after descending this, appears to be cut out of a decomposing granitic rock, of a reddish brown colour; while boulders of a harder description of rock, and of a grey colour, stand out prominently here and there. From the granite we move into the clay slate, and of this is the ridge composed, which separates the water flowing east from that which finds its way into the Murray, and out by Lake Alexandrina.

From Bathurst, which is at the eastern edge of the pastoral country, I went up to Sofala on the Turon, stopping by the way and talking to the diggers I met at work. I went down into one hole to see where, and upon what, the man was at work; and I washed out a bucketful of stuff, which yielded a few grains of gold. One of the first things that struck me was the loose unconnected manner in which the holes were sunk. In a gully, there would be, perhaps, several holes at the bottom, one or two higher up, and a single one, perhaps, at, or near, the head: it was explained to me that those at the bottom were working holes, and that upon the strength of the yield of them, some stray diggers would speculate upon striking the 'lead,' as it is termed, higher up. Sometimes these would succeed, and others would then 'prospect' above them. Upon enquiring into the meaning of the term 'lead,' I was told that the gold-producing stratum was of very variable dimensions, sometimes spreading out to a great width, in other cases being but a few feet wide. In the hole into which I crept the stratum was not more than six inches thick, and four feet wide, and seemed to meander about without any cause apparent to the eye, though I have no doubt that the

application of a level would have shown that it occupied the lowest part of the original gully. The man who was at work seemed to have nothing to guide him but direct experiment. He took a bucketful from one side of the hole, and if he found that this yielded no gold, he pushed on in another direction, till he hit upon the actual 'lead,' which he followed out.

In the valley of the Turon itself, which was narrow and with steep banks, the gold was found lying in beds at the bends of the river, where the eddies had thrown up banks of gravel and sand, and the gold-bearing stratum was, in places, nine feet thick. At present there are but few people at work, washing up old stuff, or poking about in the ground left by previous diggers. These men, however, make from ten to fifteen shillings per day, the water being close to them. In some of the more level tracts, the gold appeared to be disseminated more generally; and people were at work with 'puddling machines' worked by horses, and were carting the earth to the machine, which was placed near to water. The earth was a strongish clay, which, when puddled and washed, left a residuum of coarse sand and small gravel, in which the gold was contained, and from which it was extracted in the ordinary way by a 'Long Tom' or washing apparatus. Each cart-load of clay, at the spot where I saw the machine at work, was said to yield from four to five pennyweights of gold, which was then selling at 3*l.* 10*s.* per oz.; so each cart-load was worth from 14*s.* to 18*s.*

Now, with two horses and six men, twenty cart-loads might be washed per day, giving a return of 14*l.* to 18*l.*; but the expenses would amount to about 6*l.*, and these would be constant, while the return would be irregular. Allowance would have to be made for interest upon capital, that is, upon *time* taken up in getting to work, constructing a dam to get water, &c. &c.; also for time lost from rain, that is, from the absence or superfluity of

water, so that the work would not be so profitable as the figures above might lead you to expect. For my part, I wish the whole would come to an end. The moral effect of the gold diggings upon the community is most wretched it generates idleness and all its necessary accompaniments in the working class, a spirit of gambling in the middle class, and listlessness and apathy among the landed proprietors.

Yours, very truly,
W. D.

CHAPTER X.

INAUGURATION OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT—PROPOSED REMOVAL OF THE INHABITANTS OF PITCAIRN'S ISLAND TO NORFOLK ISLAND—FIRST CONFERRING OF DEGREES IN THE SYDNEY UNIVERSITY—GENERAL REFLECTIONS ON THE STATE OF SOCIETY—TOILSOME JOURNEY TO BROWNLOW HILL—LETTER ON CONNECTION OF THE COLONIES WITH THE MOTHER COUNTRY—ASYLUM FOR DESTITUTE CHILDREN—GETTING UP A PAGEANT—FIRST DIFFICULTIES OF 'RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT'—ABSENCE OF A PARTY—PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY—BISHOP OF NEW ZEALAND—CHURCH SOCIETY—FREEMASONS' BALL—NEWS OF PEACE—NATIONAL BANQUET—SCHOOL FOR CLERGYMEN'S DAUGHTERS—ARRIVAL OF PITCAIRNERS AT NORFOLK ISLAND—FIRST MINISTERIAL CRISIS—SECOND MINISTERIAL CRISIS—PROPOSED SEPARATION OF MORETON BAY FROM NEW SOUTH WALES—SULTRY CHRISTMAS—INSECTS.

WHEN the royal assent to the new Constitutional Act was received, its provisions became law. Under these provisions pensions were granted to a certain number of officers whose appointments were, under the new state of things, to be considered as political, and therefore essentially *temporary*. Most of the holders of these offices notified their intention of resigning them forthwith, and of claiming their pensions. Under these circumstances it became a matter of necessity for me to construct a fresh administration; that is, to find men willing to assist me in carrying on the ordinary business of the Government, subject to the risk of being ejected from office when the new Parliament met. The following letter will give a sketch of the difficulties I had to encounter, and of the mode in which I dealt with them :—

To the Hon. E. Deas Thomson.[1]

Sydney, January 15, 1856.

My dear Deas Thomson,—I paid a visit to Mr. Macleay yesterday, and had a long conversation with him on political matters, of which I will give you the substance, as it will serve to show you the views entertained by a man like him, not actually engaged in the strife of party; and as it will also be an index, in some measure, to the course which Donaldson may be expected to pursue.

In the first place, great anxiety was expressed that you should take the lead, and constitute the Government: it was said that all expected you to do so; that the Government would be placed in great difficulty without your knowledge and experience to keep things steady; it was pointed out that you might (say at the end of the first session) retire with better grace, should you then find it difficult or unpleasant to act with the men whom the Council might force upon you, than would be the case were you to refuse now to accept office under the idea that men *might* be returned from whom you could not expect support. Now as to Donaldson. I gathered from Macleay that Donaldson would propose to give the present constitution, with a nominee Upper House, a fair trial; that he would so state his opinion to his constituents, and that the only clause in the Constitutional Act which he would propose to alter would be that which renders the assent of two-thirds necessary to any modification. Under such circumstances, I think you might safely reckon on Donaldson's cooperation. He would make a good treasurer; his financial capabilities are highly estimated; he is a fluent speaker, and would give efficient

[1] This gentleman had been for many years Colonial Secretary in New South Wales, under the old system of Government; and was, from his known talent and long experience, one to whom both I, and most of the leading men of the colony, looked as best qualified to take a prominent part in the new Government.

support to the Government in the House, and would, I believe, be prepared to act with you, and to concede many points for the sake of unity of action.

Now, then, as regards myself. I feel that I have no right to claim from you any sacrifice of character, or to ask that you should place yourself in an equivocal position merely for the purpose of relieving me from a difficulty inherent in the constitution of the Government. I may say, however, that I have confidently reckoned upon your reassuming office, and that your so doing would be of very great assistance to me individually, and, I think, would do much to establish a proper system at the commencement of the new state of things. Without the control of a person accustomed to business, and with a thorough knowledge of the colony, matters will be thrown into great confusion. I have not been here long enough to make myself thoroughly cognisant of the wants of the colony, or acquainted with the mass of administrative detail, and I should not, therefore, be able to assist a new Government much. The members would be compelled either to trust altogether to irresponsible people, in the shape of clerks, or to introduce changes upon their own responsibility, which, from the limited knowledge they would possess, would probably be found to work unsatisfactorily. I cannot, I confess, enter into your feelings fully as regards the sacrifice of consistency which you think you may be called upon to make. In the present state of society in a colony undergoing such constant changes, it can hardly be supposed that a measure, adopted as the best under the circumstances when it was first suggested, could continue to maintain its position when those circumstances are modified so materially as they must daily be. I think, too, that you would be open to the accusation of having acted prematurely, were you to refuse to attempt to form a Government upon the ground that it was probable that the elections would go against you.

So little is known of the men who are coming forward, that it is impossible to say what system of policy they will be disposed to follow; and though we may feel a sort of internal conviction that they will be inclined to make all sorts of political experiments, yet, as we have no evidence of a positive character to adduce in support of this opinion, we should hardly be justified in acting upon it. The conclusion of the whole matter is, that I very much wish you to form a Government, and assist me in working out the experiment which is about to be made. Should it fail, or rather should you fail to conduct the business of the country in a manner satisfactory to yourself or to the Parliament, you will then retire with the conviction that you have done your best; and everybody will think more highly of you in such a case than were you to retire now. They would be aware of the sacrifice you make in remaining in the colony, and they would honour you for your disinterestedness. I have written frankly on this subject; it is one as to which I feel a great interest and a heavy responsibility; and I should not consider myself justified in neglecting any effort which might have the effect of inducing you to take a step which, I think I may truly say, a very large proportion of the community expects and wishes you to take.

Yours, &c.

W. D.

To the Honourable E. Deas Thomson.

Sydney, February 12, 1856.

My dear Deas Thomson,—I forward herewith a letter from the Chief Justice, containing his opinion, and that of the other Judges, as to the meaning of the term '*political grounds*,' which is used in the Constitutional Act in defining the causes of the retirement, or release from office, of certain heads of departments, by which they will be entitled to claim a pension. I send you also a copy of my

letter to Sir Alfred Stephen, to which this is an answer. The Judges' opinion may be briefly stated to be, that until some moral or absolute necessity can be shown to exist for the retirement of the present holders of office, the *political grounds* for such retirement cannot be said to have presented themselves. Under these circumstances, it is very clear that any attempt to form a Government upon the principles of the responsibility of the members to Parliament must be premature; and the only mode in which it appears possible to reconcile the terms of the enactment with the obligations of the Government, and the consideration due to yourself and the other officers whose claims to pensions are recognised therein, will be to continue the Government in its present form until the elections have taken place, when the character of the Representative Chamber being known, it will be possible, perhaps, to predicate what the policy of the Government will be. Under this state of things political combinations may be made, which now do not present themselves to us. As the Government is to continue in its present form for at least a couple of months, it is absolutely necessary that I should have your assistance in the Executive Council. It is obviously impossible that I should be left dependent upon the advice of gentlemen who must be, to a great extent, unacquainted with the circumstances under which works have been undertaken, establishments formed, &c. I propose, therefore, to gazette you and the Treasurer as members of the Executive Council. You are, of course, at perfect liberty to show this letter and its enclosure to the officers interested. I need hardly add that I hope the delay which must result from this arrangement may enable you to see your way towards the construction of a Government in which you will take a principal part.

Yours, &c.

W. D.

Extracts from Journal.

January 31.

My dear——,—I had the queerest interview yesterday, which I must tell you of. Two days ago I had a note from a Mrs. ——, requesting an interview. I did not know who Mrs. —— was, having only a dim sort of vision of having seen, or heard of, a Member of Council of that name; but whether he had a wife, or who this might be, I knew not. However, I wrote an answer, naming the hour at which I should be visible, and she came; and presently announced that the business on which she came was to ask 'Why her children had never been invited to any of my juvenile parties'! I explained, that I had given but one large juvenile ball since we had been here; that the party of children whom I had invited last week (which I supposed to be the immediate grievance) was a much smaller one, and the invitations not so general; but this did not satisfy her. She still pressed to be told *why* her children had not been asked; so at last she forced from me an answer which could not, I should think, have been a very pleasant one. I told her, that the reason in this case was, that I really was not aware that she had any children of a party-going age; but at the same time I added, that I could not admit that she, or anyone, had a right to ask any question of the kind, or to feel injured by not being invited. She looked rather ashamed, and acknowledged that she had no right, so I said no more, and she bowed herself out rather awkwardly. It was disagreeable; but really it is necessary sometimes to put things on that sort of footing, and to assert one's right to ask whom one pleases, or there would be endless difficulties in putting society on a right footing.

To-day we had rather an agreeable small dinner; the most amusing members of the company being the captain of a French man of war now in the harbour, and the old

French Consul, who was invited to meet his countryman. I had a comical discussion with our French friend, who was rather lamenting over the entirely prosaic and utilitarian character of the present age, and thought it would not go down to posterity with any credit, on account of its having no first-rate poets, painters, or sculptors to boast of. I, of course, stood up for our own age, talked of railroads and electric telegraphs, and said that I thought the useful inventions of this century would be sufficient for its credit with posterity; and he, with true French politeness, came round a little to my side, and helped me out in my argument for the practically useful *versus* the abstractedly scientific, by the following truly French illustration, 'Enfin, qui y a-t-il au monde de plus utile qu'un cuisinier? Un cuisinier qui a inventé un plat nouveau, a plus fait pour le bonheur de l'humanité que celui qui a découvert un planète!'

To J. E. Denison, Esq.

February 16, 1856.

My dear Evelyn,—Captain Fremantle, who went down in the 'Juno' to ascertain the wishes of the Pitcairn Islanders as to their transfer to Norfolk Island, brings me a most wonderful account of their simplicity, single mindedness, &c. We are going to put them upon an island provided with cattle, which they have never seen, sheep of which they know not the use, machinery, such as mills, &c. of the application of which they can have no conception. It would be a curious and interesting occupation to watch the development of their ideas under these very novel circumstances. I am afraid that their simplicity will wear away fast under the operation of the new influences brought to bear upon them. I have, however, done my best to isolate them, by directing the officers who are going down in charge of the vessel, and who

will locate them in their individual allotments, to divide the whole island (which contains but 10,000 acres) among the families, with the exception of about 500 acres for public purposes, and 200 for church and schools; so as to leave no room for other settlers. I should like to visit them myself; and shall ask for permission to do so when I send home the statement of the mode in which I have dealt with them.

This is one of our hot days, and yet I have been obliged to attend at one of the meetings of Convocation at the University of Sydney, to witness the conferring of the first degrees.

We had a very respectable assemblage, principally of ladies; and I think eight men came up, having passed a very creditable examination; one which would entitle them to stand on a higher level, I believe, than the ordinary B.A. in England. I, as Visitor, had to address the meeting after the Chancellor had read his speech. It was very unpleasant, as everything had to be done with all due pomp and ceremony; everybody being in full official dress, clerical, legal, academical, naval, or military. All the male portion of the assemblage seemed somewhat oppressed by the pomp of their attire. I rode to the University, and as I was in full uniform, I unluckily could not take the umbrella which I generally carry with me in sunny weather. We were ushered into a large room in a temporary building (for the permanent University buildings are not yet sufficiently advanced to be habitable), which answered the purpose of the Oxford theatre. The procession came in; first, all the University people in their gowns, scarfs, &c.; then Dr. Woolley, the Principal, gorgeous in crimson and scarlet, Sir Charles Nicholson as Chancellor, all sorts of lawyers in their gowns and wigs, the Roman Catholic Archbishop, in a grand array of purple, ermine, and lace; then came myself, with my train swelled up by a number of naval and military officers. When all

were seated, the successful candidates for the prize essay and Latin poem read their productions; some scholarships and prizes were awarded, and the candidates for the degree of B.A. retired, and presently returned invested with their hoods. When we got out, we found that a hot wind had sprung up with clouds of dust; and it was laughable to see the lawyers preparing for their dusty walk home, by putting their gowns over their heads to save their wigs! The hot weather was ended by a southerly gale, and this will probably turn to rain. I am going to-morrow upon a fishing excursion with Captain Fremantle and one or two others. You would hardly believe, that with the sea close to one, and plenty of fish, one is obliged to feed one's guests upon potted salmon from England generally.

To the Right Honourable H. Labouchere.

Government House, Sydney, March 4, 1856.

My dear Sir,—I have to thank you most sincerely for your kind expressions of confidence in me. No effort on my part will be wanting to prove that the confidence is not misplaced.

The mail goes away to-morrow; I would not let it depart without an acknowledgment of your letter, and an expression of my thanks. I will fill up the sheet with a few remarks upon the general condition of society, and upon the state of parties here.

In the first place, I may say that I have been very much struck with the sort of torpor or listlessness which characterises a large portion of the people of this colony. I have remarked on this to some persons, and have heard it attributed sometimes to the effects of climate, sometimes to want of means of education; none, however, attempted to deny the fact, and it is one which is exercising a very baneful influence upon all classes. That climate may have a little to do with it is possible; it may act upon the

body in making it more inert, and this may react upon the mind; but the character of the education which has been given to the children, coupled with the expressed and acknowledged wishes of the parents to return to England, are, to my mind, the main causes of the evil. Men come out to these colonies, not for the purpose of changing their home and establishing themselves and their families in a new world, but for the sole purpose of accumulating a sufficient sum to enable them to return to England to enjoy life. The result of this is a sacrifice of the present to the future, but it is, in the first place, an earthly future; and, in the second, the sacrifice is not only of present enjoyment to the individual, but of duties to society. A man will go into the bush with a flock of sheep,—will allow his mind to dwell but upon the one object, the increase of his stock: his motive being to accumulate so many sheep as will enable him to sell off his whole establishment, and return to England. He lays out no capital upon comforts or conveniences; he thinks not of improving the country; he has no general views; his thoughts centre upon himself; and he ceases, in fact, to be a member of a community.

Then, again, the means of educating children here are but indifferent; the schools admit of such a mixture of children, that the tone inculcated is not a high one.

This is my view of the state of society. It acts upon us politically, in that it gives great scope to political adventurers; men who attribute all the evils which prevail to political causes, who think that the ballot will make men virtuous and self-denying,—or rather, who say that it will, for I do not give these hangers-on upon society the credit of sincerity. The consequence is, that attention is turned from the real practical questions in which the colony is deeply interested,—from education,—from extension of means of communication,—from improvement of the country and the development of its resources, and is

centred upon matters which had much better be left in abeyance. You must not, however, suppose me to object to political reform. I am strongly in favour of all those changes which tend to bring legislation into harmony with the people and the age; but I object to all unnecessary alterations, and particularly to those exaggerated representations, which would seem to assert that the people were made by the institutions, and not the institutions by the people, as being in accordance with their wants. However, I am now speaking more of myself than of the people. We are in the midst of our first elections of a new Parliament. What the result will be, it is impossible to say. I am told by some who seem to know the state of feeling of the great mass of those who have come forward as representatives, that there will be thirty-eight out of fifty-four members of the Lower House Conservatives, as it is called; that is, who will be opposed, generally, to further political change. Judging, however, from the tone of the addresses as printed, I should have formed a different opinion; but I am told I am not to judge from addresses,—that people say to their constituents much that they never have any intention of carrying out in practice. A couple of months will decide as to the character of our future Legislature. The result will, of course, be that I shall have to commence with a fresh set of public officers. The present men, with one exception, perhaps, will not look to remain under Government; they will do what so many others do, return to England, and enjoy themselves; and I am not certain that, upon the whole, it is not perhaps better that it should be so. It is as well that men should feel their helplessness, and be made aware, by experience, that it is not so simple a matter as they appear to think to regulate the details of official business. My position, as, indeed, that of all the Governors of these colonies, is peculiar; we cease to be persons in authority, to whom the power of deciding upon the questions to be submitted

to the Legislature is intrusted, and we assume a sort of indifferent position, conceding the determination of all such matters to a Ministry; but this Ministry we have not, neither can we have, till the Legislature meets. I propose, on the first meeting of Parliament in May, to point out to the Council the change in the relation between myself and them; and after explaining to them the course which I should have followed had matters remained as heretofore, to assure them of my wish to co-operate with any Ministry which may be formed in all their efforts for the benefit of the colony. I believe that a great majority of the people will have confidence in my wish to serve them and promote their interests; and I trust that the session will be a peaceable one. I will not commit myself, however, to any prophecies; and with many apologies for the length of my letter, I trust that you will believe me,

Yours most truly,
W. DENISON.

Extract from Journal.

March 9, 1856.

My dear ——,—We are now at a place called Brownlow Hill, on a visit to Mr. and Mrs. George Macleay. We came here on Friday; and such a journey as it was! It rained heavily in the morning, before we left Sydney; so much so, that we had doubts whether we should start at all; however, on the first lull between the showers we set off, and came up to Parramatta by railway merrily enough, though it was raining, thundering, and lightening, great part of the way. But that did not matter in a close railway carriage; so there we sat very snugly. At Parramatta we held another council of war on the propriety of giving up our journey and returning by the next train; for the weather looked very doubtful, and we knew that we had country roads to encounter, and a *river to ford*, neither of which impediments would be

lessened by the rain. However, at the railway station we met two gentlemen, just come down from the country, who told us that, if we were going on at all, we had better go at once, for the roads were likely to be worse than now three days hence; that the rain had not, as yet, had much effect upon them; and one of the gentlemen added that he had crossed the dreaded ford the evening before, without much difficulty. Moreover, just at this crisis, the sun peeped out, as if to lure us to our destruction, by making us think it was going to be a fine day after all: so off we set again. The railway does not go beyond Parramatta as yet, so the rest of the way (twenty-nine miles) we were to travel with our own horses. For a time the sun kept his promise; and we got on very well till we reached a little village called Liverpool, where we were to bait the horses. From thence W—— and the girls, with the aide-de-camp, were to ride, leaving me with the nurse and baby in the carriage. Not many miles farther, our misfortunes began: a heavy gathering of clouds, and one or two long rolls of thunder, ushered in a storm which burst on our devoted heads in the midst of a long dreary bush road, with gloomy-looking trees on each side, no shelter anywhere, rain, thunder, lightning; the *road*, so called by courtesy, looking more like a ploughed field than a road, and the uncomfortable idea of this *ford* still looming in the distance. The riders had by this time gone too far ahead for me to call the girls into the carriage again for comparative shelter, and they both had colds to begin with! At last, about six in the evening, riders and drivers met again, at the point where we were to turn off to the ford, just in time to be informed by a man, that crossing the ford was out of the question! He had had some difficulty in getting over himself above an hour ago, and the river had been rising rapidly ever since! Here was a state of things! Sunset, and of course, darkness, rapidly approaching (for there is

scarcely any twilight here); horses tired, riders drenched, roads changing from the state of *ploughed fields* to that of *marsh*,—baby, who had behaved superlatively well throughout the day, beginning to be hungry and fretful, and to crown all, our baggage had vanished! It had been sent on before us in a cart; but of this cart our informant at the ford could give us no tidings; he had not seen it. If it had got across the ford, we were hopelessly cut off from it; if not, where was it?

To reach our destination for the night was now impossible; and in the despair of the moment, we had very nearly resolved on going to ask shelter from Mrs. Charles Cowper, the wife of one of the members of the Legislative Council, whose house was not far off, and who, we knew, would be at home herself, though her husband was down in Sydney. She would have contrived to take us in somehow, no doubt; for the settlers here are proverbially hospitable, and quite used to such casualties in this country of bad roads and no bridges; but still we did not much like the idea of intruding upon her in such force. Just imagine,—Governor and Governor's wife, two daughters, baby and nurse, aide-de-camp, two men-servants, two orderlies, and eight horses, all coming to be housed and stabled at a moment's notice, on a family who are themselves, I believe, numerous, and probably, therefore, fill their own house pretty sufficiently! So, after a little consultation between W—— and the coachman as to the powers of endurance of the horses, it was decided that we should make a push to get to Camden, the nearest village, about four miles off, and sleep there at the little inn or public house. This settled, the riders again rode ahead, and I followed in the carriage. Oh! those four miles were worse than all the rest! It was growing dark, and the road worse than ever. By and by I heard the coachman call out to the orderly who had been left with the carriage as a guide, 'Tell me, George,

how I *am* to get through this!' I looked out anxiously, and saw that '*this*' was a regular pond formed by the rain across the road. The orderly's answer was inaudible, as he was on horseback a little way off; but we struggled through it, with a great jolting and sinking to one side, and a scream from the nurse; and dragged on another weary mile or two, when again the coachman's voice broke through the darkness: 'George, have you any idea *where we are?*' Again I failed to catch the orderly's answer, but I distinctly heard the coachman's rejoinder, 'Well, but if we do not get there very soon,—the horses are almost beat, both of them!' Now I became really frightened. I knew that W——, after looking out for quarters in the inn, would come back to look for us, if we did not make our appearance; but would he find us in the dark, if indeed we had gone out of the right road? And how should we *wade* on, even to any shelter, if the horses should come to a standstill, with poor baby and all? However, they are decidedly horses 'of good principles;' so they toiled on, slowly indeed, but surely, till we came up to W——, just dismounted at the door of a little inn; and joy upon joy! we found our baggage there also! The groom, who drove the cart, upon finding himself unable to cross the ford, had, according to his own account, 'sat for a quarter of an hour in the rain, thinking what he had best do;' and had at last come to the judicious resolve of making for the 'Camden inn,' on the chance of our being obliged to take up our quarters there for the night. So we had dry clothing, and everything we wanted; and I made the girls go to bed, and nursed them up with tea, &c. and they are not the worse. And never was any shelter more welcome than that little inn, with its tiny rooms, though the rain *had* come through most of its ceilings! The next morning we came on here; for the waters had gone down a good deal, and there was a way by which we could and *did* come

without crossing *the* ford, which was still impassable; and here we are in delightful quarters, and with the kindest of friends.

To the Right Hon. H. Labouchere.

Sydney, April 18, 1856.

My dear Sir,—I told you in my last letter that persons who were acquainted with the state of parties here, anticipated a majority of the so-called Conservative party as the result of the elections for the Lower House. The elections are now nearly over, and their anticipations have turned out to be correct; that is, the parties will number as follows: Conservatives, 34; Liberals or Republicans, 20. I am, I believe, doing some injustice to these last, in calling them republicans; some of them are confessedly so, but I believe that several of the number would repudiate the appellation.

While I am upon this subject, would you allow me to ask what the feelings of the Government are as to the question of separation of the colonies from the control of England? The old colonial theory has been altogether repudiated of late years; the idea that a colony should be a sort of recipient of English manufactures, and a supply of raw produce to the manufacturer, has been put an end to by free trade; and many people, flying to the opposite extreme, now seem to think that colonies are an encumbrance rather than a benefit, and would gladly see them got rid of; not, of course, by rebellion on their part, but by concession on ours.

Now I do not at all agree with the gentlemen who hold this opinion. I believe that were the independence of the colonies universal, that is, were we without any colonies but the few military posts, such as Gibraltar, Malta, Bermuda, &c., the result would not only be most injurious to the mother country, but to the colonies also; to the mother country, in destroying the *prestige*

arising from the enormous extent of her Colonial Empire, and in raising up in every corner of the globe a host of jealous and irritable communities, who, in despite of the ties of a common origin, would, in most instances, be as willing to side with our enemies as with us; to the colonies, in leaving them to the unfettered exercise of their own legislative fancies, which would in a very short time lead to internal convulsions and external quarrels. Take, for instance, Victoria and New South Wales; there is a feeling of antagonism already springing up between them, there are questions arising out of the faulty line of boundary separating the two, and were the balance spring, in the shape of the control of the mother country, removed, we should soon see them legislating against each other. Were the colonies to be declared independent, a similar feeling would soon grow up with relation to the mother country, and we should have a number of little thorns perpetually pricking us, with whom we should be tempted to deal in a summary manner in case of war with any maritime power. The idea that England is now indifferent to the fate of the colonies is gaining ground, and has been to a certain extent fostered by the conduct of the Government. Troops are withdrawn, and the colonies are told to look to their own defence; that they cost more than they are worth, &c. This, even if true, which I altogether deny, ought not to be stated so broadly. With regard to the defences, the same result with respect to the cost might have been attained by following a course which would have bound the colonies more strongly to the mother country. We might have acknowledged the community of interest between the mother country and the colonies, which render the defence of the latter a matter of importance to the former; we might have proposed that the number of troops required for its defence should be determined by the legislature of each colony, and that

each should, in such a case, take upon itself one half of the expense of maintaining this force, whatever it might be. The principle of sharing equally the cost of establishments in which each has an interest, has been affirmed in the new postal arrangements, and might, I think, be laid down with advantage as a general rule. I do not wish to see a colonial military force; it would never be properly subject to discipline. A militia in these colonies, where the common labourer receives from six to eight shillings per day, could never be properly organised; the men might be made to enrol their names, but they could not be properly embodied or trained; indeed, I see no object in embodying a militia. The force which we require is merely a local one for the defence of our ports and harbours; and during war it would have to be permanently on duty. In Australia, at all events, we have no reason to fear any attempts to take possession of the country; we need only guard against predatory attempts upon our trade and shipping.

Yours very truly,

W. D.

Extract from Journal.

May 8, 1856.

My dear——,—To-day we were at a great ceremony of laying the first stone of a new asylum for destitute children, at a place called Randwick, about four miles off. I am a regular visitor at the present asylum, of which W—— is patron; but I must confess, that visiting there is the most painful of all my out-of-door duties, and the one in which I take the least interest; for, in the first place, I am inclined rather to disapprove of the whole thing, as being useless and almost mischievous, and in the second place, of the manner of conducting it, which strikes us both as having been hasty and ill-considered. The Society which has started the Asylum proposes to itself to

rescue the children of heartless and drunken parents from the neglect and contamination which await them, by taking into their asylum those whose parents have either abandoned them, or are of such drunken and profligate character as to be unable to look after them. Now this may sound pretty well in words; but practically, I do not at all admire the system; for as to those children who are really deserted by their parents, there are the Orphan Schools under Government, in which they would be taken care of; and as to the others, it seems to me something very like offering an encouragement to vice, by saying to the idle and drunken mother, 'Your children shall be taken care of for you,' while the sober and industrious one is allowed to toil on for hers, and maintain them as she can, unassisted. Then the execution of this scheme appears to me nearly as indifferent as its conception: it is as if the whole thing had been rushed into hastily, with very little consideration as to what they would require; for there are the poor children whom they have collected together, crammed into a miserable dilapidated building with very insufficient accommodation, very indifferent teachers, and barely sufficient funds to feed and clothe them. W—— and I have often talked over these things, and I felt much inclined to relinquish my office of visitor altogether; but he advised me not to do that, I suppose on the principle that, since the asylum and the poor children were there, it would be as well to do what we can towards making the best of it; and on the same principle, after some little thought, and 'having a great mind to refuse,' he consented to lay the first stone of the new asylum, which will be at least a step in the right direction, by providing a building more suited to the purpose than the present one. W—— having acceded to this, next came a request to me that I would be present, and would plant one of four trees that they had determined to have planted around the building, in commemoration of its foundation. Of course

I was agreeable; and almost the most satisfactory part of the proceeding to my feelings was to discover that they had assigned to me the honour of planting 'the English oak,' the other three trees being Australian ones, and being planted by other ladies. We were exceedingly disgusted with the tone taken up by one or two of the speakers (for there were speeches in the course of the ceremony), who were bent on enlarging on the depravity and wickedness of the parents of these children, and on the evil example from which it was sought to rescue them, while the poor children themselves, who had been brought out to see the spectacle, were standing close by. Really that sort of rough charity, which tramples so recklessly over the feelings of its unfortunate objects, when it thinks it is doing them good, is scarcely likely to effect all the benefit it hopes for.

May 20.—I was called this afternoon into A——'s office to share in a grand consultation with him and William, and Mr. Naper, as to the *getting up* of William's pageant for the formal opening of the new 'Parliament' next Friday. A—— is a great man for forms and etiquettes; and this is, of course, a state occasion, which calls upon us to put 'our best foot foremost;' but most ludicrous were some of the difficulties which occurred. The State carriage was all right, and four horses had been mustered for it somehow or other, for we have only a pair of our own; but then, how was I to go? There was our every day carriage for me, and *one* black saddle horse of William's, which goes in harness, and is sometimes used as a supernumerary, if either of the regular carriage horses is ill; but this was all. Mr. Naper offered me one of his; but as the offer was coupled with the remark, that it would go quietly, *if* I could get there before the guns began to fire, I declined having anything to say to it. Then, who was to drive? for our own coachman had to *lend* his dress livery to the man who, as the best driver, was to drive

the state carriage. However, this was mastered by the unanimous decision that the ordinary liveries would quite do for my quieter *entrée*; but oh! the muster of the men-servants, in order to provide what was declared to be *the thing*, two footmen to walk at the horses' heads, besides the two who were to stand up behind, and the one who was to go with me! and the difficulties about dress liveries for them all! It could only be done at last by putting in requisition every man who wears a livery, and leaving the butler himself to act as hall porter during our absence. And how we laughed over it all! The Council is to meet on Thursday. Meantime it is pouring with rain quite as if it had set in for six weeks, and if it has (in the sort of way it does rain when it once sets in), alas for the pageant and the walking footmen!

To the Right Hon. H. Labouchere.

Sydney, June 12, 1856.

My dear Sir,—You will receive by this mail the official account of the organisation of 'Responsible Government.' The Duke of Newcastle, in a despatch to me, defined the term as meaning 'Government by party.' I stated in reply that, in these colonies, we had not the elements out of which to form political parties, and that the only party question would be Republicanism *versus* Monarchy. The commencement of parliamentary action has made it quite clear that we shall have plenty of antagonism, but I think that I was correct in what I said to the Duke, for although the terms 'constitutional' and 'unconstitutional' have been bandied about like shuttlecocks from one side of the House to the other, the only question before the mind of every speaker has been a purely personal one: 'Why was not I asked to become a member of the Government?' The opposition does not object to any of the measures mentioned in the speech, but Mr. A—— says, 'I ought to have been sent for instead of Mr. B——. I have more

experience, more administrative ability; am, in short, a better man.' You will see that the address in answer to the speech expressed the opinion of the House that, in appointing a responsible Ministry, and acting by their advice in nominating the Upper House, I had carried out the spirit of the Constitution. This was voted by a majority of thirty to eighteen. I think that this will be the majority on which the Government may depend; but the eighteen opponents have a tie which binds them together; —they are out; the thirty supporters of the Government have no such bond of union. I should, therefore, be sorry to commit myself to any opinion as to the stability of the Ministry; but I think I may venture to say that if a ministry supported by a majority cannot retain office for a few months, one supported by the minority would only last a few weeks.

Some months ago I brought under the consideration of the Government the question of the position in which the coin from the Sydney Mint was placed in the adjoining colonies; and I then recommended that the Mint should be made, as it is called, a branch of the Royal Mint, and that the coin issued from it should, under the usual restrictions as to fineness, &c. be made, concurrently with that issued from the London Mint, a legal tender throughout the British dominions. I see, by the returns from the Royal Mint, that, as to weight and fineness, we are equal, if not superior, to the British coin; and I know that as our alloy is in part silver, the retail value of the Sydney sovereign is in excess of the English one. The course proposed by me would, I think, be the simplest and most effective.

Believe me, yours very truly,

W. D.

To Mrs. Denison.

June 19, 1856.

My dearest Mother,—I have at last got my Government into working order. The members whom I had appointed having had to appeal to their constituents and stand a fresh election, were unwilling to take upon themselves any but the most ordinary functions of Government, and avoided the responsibility which their positions entailed upon them. I have, therefore, until now, been doing the principal part of the work as heretofore. As soon, however, as I saw that the elections were secure, I sent down a minute to my Ministers, informing them that a proper division of labour must be made, and I pointed out what my share was to be, leaving to them to divide the remainder among themselves as they might think proper; so next week I intend to slip my neck from the collar, and to relinquish any immediate responsibility in the details of the Government. I shall have much more time on my hands, and be able to make myself more extensively useful than hitherto. The Bishop of New Zealand arrived here a few days ago; I had never seen him before, though his picture was familiar to me. He is a most earnest and zealous person, and has operated, I believe, most effectively upon the character and habits of the Maori population in New Zealand. I think his motive in coming here was to ascertain what was doing at Norfolk Island, which he wishes to make the seat of a Bishopric for the South Sea Islands.

To Sir Roderick Murchison.

Sydney, June 25, 1856.

My dear Sir Roderick,—I have sent off a vessel to look after the North Australian expedition, which, I trust, will be the means of enabling you to get early accounts of their doings. I have put a lieutenant of the navy on board,

with very detailed instructions, and I dare say he will have brought you all the information which he has been enabled to gather concerning the expedition by the time that this reaches you. Many thanks for your promise of aid to us in improving our Museum. I am sorry to hear you speak so despondingly of your prospect of promoting science in England; but I know and feel that one is constantly obliged to keep a check upon one's wishes and aspirations, and to accommodate one's pace to the jog-trot of society. It is one of the great trials to an *earnest* man to have to contend against the lukewarmness of friends. Opposition can be met and overcome by the pressure of steam, but the cold wet blanket of pretended sympathy but real indifference, brings down high pressure steam to low pressure, and low pressure to tepid water. I have got my Philosophical Society to work at last; everything slumbered during the heat of political strife, but when the elections were over, I made a move: I determined that I would not be President of an effete body, so I called the members together, read a paper on railroads, got them to agree to meet regularly once a month for eight months in the year, and shall now, by the help of occasional papers from myself, and of suggestions to others, manage, I dare say, to generate, first, an appetite for writing, and then a taste for observation, in order to have something to write about.

I say with you, 'Thank God, peace is coming.' War is an unmitigated evil, throwing society back for years and years; in these colonies we have not even the shadow of glory to comfort us. Everyone feels the evil effects of war, but, naturally, we do not participate in the benefits, if there are any.

Yours most truly,

W. D.

Extracts from Journal.

Sydney, June 26, 1856.

Dearest ——,—I finished my last volume of journal on Friday last. On Saturday we had the two Bishops (our own and New Zealand), and one or two other people dining with us: I had a good deal of talk, very interesting and agreeable talk, with the Bishop of New Zealand in the evening, and was much pleased with a great deal of what he said. On Monday, W—— attended a meeting of the new Church Society, which he and our own Bishop have been exerting themselves to set going here, for the purpose of providing increased means of religious instruction—additional clergymen, churches, schools, &c.—throughout the colony, many parts of which are in a most lamentable state of spiritual destitution. On Tuesday evening we went to the Freemasons' Ball. I was a little curious on the subject of masonic dresses and decorations, so I really enjoyed going; and I am doubly glad now that we did go, for it is evident that our being there gave immense pleasure, as it was entirely a citizens' ball. We went with all the 'pomp and circumstance,' escort, guard of honour, &c., and W—— in uniform. The ball was held in one of the theatres; and when we got there, we found the Deputy Provincial Grand Master, or some such dignitary, at the entrance to receive us, and behind him, a double row of 'masons' in their scarfs and aprons, between whom we went bowing along, till we got to the entrance of the ball-room, which was, of course, the pit and orchestra of the theatre, boarded over. Here the most conspicuous figure, besides the aforesaid 'Deputy Provincial Grand Master,' was our children's dancing-master, Mr. P——, who is, it seems, a brother of the order, and who was acting as master of the ceremonies; very grand, in a profusion of scarf and apron; and who, on our entrance, performed the feat of walking backwards

in front of us along the whole length of the ball-room, while his coadjutor, the Grand Master, walked in the usual way; indeed, no one but a courtier, or a dancing-master, could have done otherwise. I do not think Mr. P—— was correct in point of etiquette, as I thought it was a ceremony peculiar to Royalty; but at all events, it was very well done; and if, as I imagined, he was glad of the opportunity of exhibiting 'the dancing-master' to such perfection, his performance really should have been worth a dozen pupils to him. The dancing began as soon as we reached our places; and wonderful dancing some of it was; but pleasing, I thought, in its heartiness, and thorough enjoyment: the dresses were somewhat portentous. They had supper rather early, to suit our convenience, because they knew that we did not wish to stay late, and yet they wanted W—— for some speechifying at supper. I was taken into supper by a dignified-looking brother of the order, whom I discovered, in the course of conversation, to be a Mr. H——, the member for Bathurst. I was placed between him and the Deputy Grand Master (who presided, the real Grand Master being away), and who, as soon as everybody was placed round the tables, seized a little wooden mallet that was placed beside him, and rapped upon the table for silence while he said grace. The grace itself was masonic and peculiar:—'For His mercies which we are about to receive, may the *Great Architect of the Universe* make us truly thankful!' As soon as the supper was over, he proposed *the* masonic toast—'The Queen and the Craft,' which it seems it is their custom thus to couple together, and I remarked that this toast was received in silence, because, as Brother H—— remarked to me, 'Masonic honours are peculiar,' and therefore, I suppose, are not to be exhibited in presence of the uninitiated. A few other toasts were proposed; W——'s health, mine, and one or two more; and we then returned to the ball-room. This

is likely to be a dissipated week, for we have promised to go to another ball to-night, the Bachelors' Ball, given in the same theatre as the Freemasons'.

June 30.—We were a small party at church yesterday morning, owing to the wet; and as W—— and I came back, we were met on the stairs and in the hall by a rush of those who had stayed at home, to announce to us that 'there must be *peace*, for the steamer from Melbourne had just come in, all dressed out with flags, and the people on board her cheering, and, when she passed the "Electra," *her* men had run up the rigging and cheered too.' And it was even so: for presently came Captain Morris, of the 'Electra,' who had gone on board the steamer to hear the news, and had brought thence some late numbers of the 'Illustrated News,' which he left with us. By and by, one of the principal Sydney newspapers, 'violating,' as it said, 'a rule it had never violated before,' (viz., of not printing anything on a Sunday) issued some little scraps, —just the announcement of peace,—and sent some here, and some round to all the clergy, that they might make known the fact to their evening congregations, as a call for thanksgiving. I rather like their doing this; and think the occasion quite justified the little departure from their usual rule. There was something pleasing to my eye, even in the way they had printed the *envelope* in which they sent these little scraps of newspaper to W——. Here is a fac-simile of it:—

Peace.

His Excellency
The Governor-General.

'Herald' Office.

After a while came the letters; and altogether we were kept in such a state of joyous excitement, that it ended in our sitting down by the fire, when evening came, and rather wishing that so much delightful news would not

come on a Sunday; for, happy though the excitement had been, the fact of its being so exciting had well nigh destroyed the peculiar Sunday comfort.

July 18.—I was present at what was, to me, rather a novel scene last night. People here had voted that it would be desirable to have what they called 'a national banquet,' to celebrate the inauguration of Responsible Government; and so they invited W——, and all the other notabilities of the place, to be present at it. W—— paused a little on the first reception of the invitation: he was rather afraid that it might be a *party* thing, a sort of ovation to the Colonial Ministers; in which case, of course, he could have nothing to say to it, as he must not identify himself with any particular ministry or party; and, on the other hand, he did not like to refuse, being perfectly certain that, in that case, it would be said that he disliked the introduction of responsible Government altogether, and was sulky at the restrictions which it placed on his power. However, on due deliberation, he devised, and A—— executed, a very judicious note in answer, saying, that he should have great pleasure in attending a demonstration that was really of a national character; that he heartily sympathised in their rejoicings at the introduction of the wished-for form of Government, and so on, and that, at a banquet of this kind, he would be happy to attend; but, at the same time, they must be aware that he could not identify himself with any demonstration that was of a party character; and he concluded by desiring to have a list of the toasts that were to be proposed on the occasion. Of course, if it had ever been intended to make it a party affair, this 'wise word' of his checked the intention; and the list of toasts, when produced, proved quite unexceptionable, and it was settled that he should go. Then came an invitation to me to be present: not actually at the banquet, of course, but in the theatre where it was to take place. The dinner was to be on the stage

and on the pit, boarded over, and the boxes were to be set apart for any ladies who might like to come and look on, and hear the speeches. After a little deliberation, I accepted the invitation; but as I thought there would be no amusement in going to see a party of men sit and eat, we agreed that I should go rather later, so as just to come in time for the after-dinner speeches. I made, through Mr. N——, careful enquiries as to the time when I ought to be there for this purpose, set off punctually at the hour named (eight o'clock), and, after all, had the mortification of hearing, on my arrival, from one of the stewards who came to receive me, that 'the Governor's health had just been given.' This was very vexing, for I like to see the enthusiastic burst that always follows on his health being given; and besides, I missed a good deal that was nice, and of which I was informed by Lady Stephen (wife of the Chief Justice), who sat in the same box with me; viz., the singing by way of grace, after dinner, of *Non nobis Domine*, by a choir got together for the occasion: then the singing of 'God save the Queen,' when the Queen's health was given, and lastly the reception of W——'s health, which I hear was most enthusiastic; and his reply, which must I think have been very good, as he alluded to the occasion which had called them together, and spoke of the present condition of the country, its relation with respect to England, &c. I felt not a little cross at having missed all this; but there was no help for it, so up I went, escorted by one or two stewards, to my box. Disappointment the second was to find that, owing to the very injudicious placing of the tables, we in the boxes could hear little or nothing; so that our being there by way of hearing the speeches was an absolute farce. However, I managed to hear one or two who spoke more audibly than the rest, and as for those who were quite inaudible, I was amused with looking at them; for it really produces a most absurd effect to see a man nodding and gesticulating

through his speech, when you cannot hear a word he says. Moreover I escaped hearing a large eulogium on myself, which came out apropos to my health being drunk, and of this I was glad; for one feels so foolish sitting by to hear oneself flattered, and looking as if one believed it all.

July 28th.—I drove to-day with Mrs. Barker, to see a school for clergymen's daughters, which the Bishop has succeeded in establishing in this neighbourhood, his compassion having been excited by the unfortunate circumstances in which the children of the country clergy in this colony are placed. Living up in the wild bush, their fathers' time so taken up with itinerating over a large scattered district, as to make it impossible for him to teach them, their mothers almost as much occupied in indispensable domestic matters (as servants are not always to be had there), nothing like teachers or masters, of course, within hundreds of miles, the children too often grow up utterly uneducated: at least, so they feared would be the case, so the Bishop and Mrs. Barker, collecting subscriptions, and exerting themselves, have succeeded in setting on foot this school. I was very much pleased with all I saw of the establishment; and I must say, to the credit of the country clergymen and their wives, that the mistress of the school told me that she found the girls much less backward than one would have expected.

August 9th.—W—— has had very interesting letters to-day from Captains Fremantle and Denham, who have been superintending the arrival and first settlement of the Pitcairn Islanders in their new home at Norfolk Island. There had been a doubt, at one time, whether they would all be willing to leave Pitcairn. Old George Adams (sole remaining son of the original Adams) seemed unwilling to leave the place where his father's grave was, and one or two others had some uncomfortable feeling

about Mr. Nobbs, who does not seem to have been liked by a portion of the people; but these little differences have all been set at rest at last, and the whole community made up their minds to come away together. The officer from the 'Juno,' who was sent down to Pitcairn in the vessel that was to bring them away, says that they showed less emotion on leaving their old home than he should have expected. He says he never saw people suffer so dreadfully from sea-sickness as they did; and one or two of the women were actually so ill as not to be expected to live. However they all rallied at last, and arrived at Norfolk Island, I think on June 6th. They were a hundred and ninety-four in number, including a little 'Christian,' who was born on the voyage, and who was christened 'William Denison,' after my good man. Five convicts had been left on Norfolk Island, with a storekeeper and superintendents, to take care of things till the Pitcairners' arrival; and these poor prisoners were so well behaved, and so anxious to be of use, that Captain Fremantle did not find it necessary to confine them after the arrival of the Pitcairn people. They were kept under surveillance, of course; but they were allowed to be employed, each one with a separate party of the Pitcairners, to teach them the use of the different tools and things; and Captain Fremantle says that nothing could be better behaved or more useful than they were. You are to understand from this, that the poor Pitcairn people had not a notion of anything in the way of agricultural employment, beyond planting yams and potatoes in the most primitive manner possible; so it was supposed that they would be utterly bewildered with all the appliances placed at their disposal at Norfolk Island, unless there had been somebody to teach them how to use them. However, by the help of the five convicts, and some men from the 'Herald,' ploughs, with oxen and horses, were set to work, &c., and a variety of things explained to the

Pitcairners, who seem to be very intelligent and ready in learning to use them, and highly delighted with all these novelties. I do not believe they had ever seen a horse before, but they seem to be taking kindly to them, and some of the boys already mount and ride without a saddle, pretty much as one sees farm boys doing at home. They are rather alarmed at the number of cattle on the island; for, though they had a bull and a few cows at Pitcairn, they made no use of them, as none of the people, not even the babies, would drink milk! Is not this a curious fact? It was on a Sunday morning that they landed, and that evening they had a thanksgiving service for their safe voyage, 'and the following Sunday,' says Captain Denham, 'we had the satisfaction of receiving the Sacrament together with these interesting people. Mr. Nobbs read the service of the Church of England in a very impressive manner, and his flock sing the psalms, *skilfully* as well as very sweetly.' Altogether they are very interesting letters, but I dare say you will see the substance of them in some of the English papers some day, as they will be sent home.

To Sir Roderick Murchison.

Sydney, August 16, 1856.

My dear Sir Roderick,—Thanks for your letter of May 15, which reached me a few days ago. It is a great pleasure to me to correspond with a man like yourself, earnest and zealous in everything which you undertake. Your scheme for a fresh colony in the north of Australia, to which you propose to send convicts, may *perhaps* answer, though I have my doubts as to the country and climate, with reference, I mean, to the productive power of the new settlement. What will it produce? To what use will you turn the convict labour? The only mode in which such a scheme could be carried out effectually

would be by a modification of the assignment system, and by giving the Governor, whoever he may be, full power of control and management. If he is to be hampered by a legislative body under any form, the experiment will fail. Get a man with nerve and brains, and make an autocrat of him, and he may probably give life to the settlement; hamper him with regulations and skilfully devised schemes for improving the morals of the convicts, and the whole will turn out a delusion. The ticket-of-leave system in England I always said would be a failure; it was an attempt to thrust upon one state of society an arrangement which could only work properly under its direct opposite. I rather distrust your American friend's scheme for a ship canal across the Isthmus of Darien. The main difficulty would be the want of water at the summit level. Each ship requires a lock full of water each way, and now that ships are getting enormous, the size of the locks must be equally enormous; and the waste of water will be in proportion to this. I have an experiment on hand at present in the removal of the Pitcairn Islanders to Norfolk Island. They have just landed, and having been placed in possession of a variety of tools and appliances, of which they know not the use, are rather puzzled. I am desirous, however, to put some pressure upon them, in order to make them act and think for themselves. They have hitherto been objects of charitable interest, and they have to a certain extent lived upon this. They must now learn to produce for barter or sale, in order to enable them to purchase such articles as they cannot make for themselves. I hope to be able to pay them a visit soon. Good-bye.

Yours very truly,

W. D.

Extracts from Journal.

Sydney, August 22, 1856.

Ministers have resigned! This was the great event of yesterday; and so closes the first act of the drama of 'Responsible Government' in these colonies. There has been no opposition to any particular measure or set of measures; indeed, the Ministers have scarcely been allowed time to enunciate any; the whole time of the legislature having been taken up by debates and divisions on little extraneous, almost personal matters. However, the Ministers finding it impossible to get on with anything in the face of this system, came to W—— yesterday morning to announce their intention of resigning, and went down and made their statement to the House in the afternoon! a statement which seems to have taken people rather by surprise, and caused great excitement. I was giving a ball in the evening, and it was amusing to see people come in, all, evidently, full of this news, many with a sort of look of half-smiling consciousness, glancing at W—— as if they would fain discover, from his face, what he thought about it; his perfect imperturbability leaving them, after all, no food for conjecture; indeed, he always does keep himself quite contented, and never allows things to worry him. My ball went off very well, and included a 'Sir Roger de Coverley,' which was danced with great spirit. Among the most energetic of the dancers was the old French Consul, who had never, I believe, attempted such a purely English dance before, and did not understand it now; he got himself, in the course of his evolutions, on to the ladies' side of the dance, danced there for some time, extricated himself at last without setting the dance in confusion, and finally got so excited that he danced a *galop* after the country dance, and wound up by an exclamation, partly addressed to me,

and partly to the lady he was dancing with, 'Ah, je redeviens jeune! Fifty minutes since, I was old man!!'

To the Right Honourable H. Labouchere.

Sydney, August 29, 1856.

My dear Sir,—The June mail conveyed to you the announcement of the formation of a responsible Government. I have now to announce the resignation of the members of that Government. You will not, however, get the official account till the game is played out; that is, till I see whether the new ministry is likely to secure sufficient support in the assembly to enable it to carry on the Government. I told you in my June letter that there can hardly be said to be any *political parties* in these colonies; everybody differs in opinion from his neighbour on some question or another, and is not disposed to sacrifice his opinion for party purposes. The spirit of individuality is so strong amongst people here, that they can with difficulty be persuaded to combine for any social purpose, and therefore can hardly be expected to do so for political objects. The tendency has shown itself in the Legislative Assembly; for though a large majority approved of the course I had taken in appointing Mr. Donaldson, and gave in their nominal adhesion to his ministry, the support afforded to him was so irregular and uncertain as to make him doubtful as to his power to carry on any particular measure. Last week, upon some question relative to the constitution of the ministry, Mr. Donaldson carried his motion by a majority of two only. Having consulted with his colleagues, he came down to me the next morning in order to let me know their opinion as to the proper course of action, and to ascertain my views and wishes. The opinion of the ministry appeared to be that, with a view to the constitution of a strong Government, it would be better that the present men should resign at once, in order to convince the members of the Assembly that a system

of half confidence in a ministry would never enable it to act with effect. After going over all the circumstances connected with the position and prospects of the ministry, I came to the conclusion that the course proposed by Mr. Donaldson of resigning at once would be the best. He therefore went down to the House, asked for an adjournment for three or four days, and sent in his official resignation the following day. I then sent for Mr. Cowper, the leading member of the opposition, and he undertook to form a ministry, informing me at the same time that he had hopes of the support of the former Attorney-general, and of other men of standing. When, however, he came to me about three days afterwards, with the list of the men composing the ministry, I felt, at once, that it must eventually break down; but as he expressed his confidence in the support of the Legislature, or rather led me to infer that he should get such support, it was not my business to thrust upon him my conviction that he would not; so I determined to give his ministry a fair trial, and not to allow any parties to say that their failure was owing to undue interference on my part. Should Mr. Cowper fail, as he is almost sure to do, there may be a chance that out of the present confusion a decently strong Government may emanate. Sir H. Young has written to me about the difficulty of inaugurating responsible Government in Tasmania. I have given him all the information in my possession, and have warned him to avoid certain difficulties into which I have been plunged; but I imagine you will have some curious accounts from the various colonies, including New Zealand. I hear strange stories occasionally from Gore Browne.

Yours very truly,

W. D.

To Mrs. Denison.

Sydney, August 29, 1856.

My dearest Mother,—People are all full of compassion for me, thinking that I must be, as the nurses used to say, 'in a peck of troubles;' my Ministers having resigned, and handed me over to another set of people, who will not hold office for more than a few days; but this, which would have been a serious annoyance to me some time ago, is now a matter of perfect indifference. The Ministers are now, theoretically, responsible to Parliament for all that they suggest or do, and so, though I give them the best advice in my power, and do help them as far as I am able, they, and they alone, get the blame for all that is either badly done or left undone; so that people, in fact, are very much more anxious for me than I am for myself.

There has not been much doing since I wrote last. The resignation of the members of the Government and the appointment of their successors, with speculations as to the merit of their policy, have occupied the last ten days, and I do not suppose that we shall be free from similar topics for the next six weeks; for as soon as the present people take their seats and commence to work, they will most assuredly be turned out, and then we shall have another election. It is better, however, that we should have had this little *démêlé* at first, as it will be a good lesson to all our young members in the Legislature.

I have been very busy discussing the various questions connected with our railway system, and have found myself between two fires. The engineers, looking at a railway as a sort of engineering work to be done in the best possible manner, are all in favour of an expensive system worked by locomotive engines—the members of the Government, on the other hand, looking to the large amount which we shall have to borrow in order to execute

such lines, keep pressing cheap railways upon me, without having a clear idea of the meaning of the term. I have made up my mind to recommend the construction of locomotive lines in the vicinity of Sydney, but as soon as we get into a high and difficult country, I shall recommend the Government to content itself with a single line, worked by horses, and of the lightest character. Unless I can get the Legislature to adopt some scheme or other, we shall never get on. We have, as I think I told you, had a run upon our gold fields; the temptation was too great for the servants who had just come out to us; one went off without leave, and the other showed such evident intention of going, that I thought it better to give him leave, and he has been away for three weeks and upwards. I hear that he has hitherto had no success, so I think that the chance is that he will return to me. They were both very good servants.

Your affectionate Son,
W. D.

Extracts from Journal.

Sydney, September 18, 1856.

Dearest M——,—The Council met again after their adjournment only the day before yesterday, and yesterday was brought forward a vote of censure on Ministers, for having taken office at all under the circumstances of their party being only a minority in the House. Such is 'responsible government' in these countries! As yet, nearly the whole time of the Assembly has been taken up with these, which may almost be called personal matters, and not a single business measure of any importance, I think, has been brought forward. I am preparing, to-night, to give my last ball for the season; for it is beginning to get too hot for balls now. The proprietor of the beautiful orange garden at Lane Cove has sent me a very pretty decoration for our supper room, namely, a single bough

from one of his orange trees; a bough which comes up to the description of the fruit from the Promised Land, for it was so heavy from the mass of oranges upon it, that W—— could not lift it; he could only drag it on to his back by stooping close to it, and even then could not hold it many minutes. I counted fifty-two oranges on it just now, but I am not sure that I counted right, for I could not see them all distinctly.

September 30.—Ministers have resigned! It seems to me that this is an announcement which is destined to come about once a fortnight, during the session of the Assembly. W—— has now sent for a Mr. Hay, who is just rising into public life here, and who seems a sensible man, and likely to be useful. He thinks he may get together a ministry, and is willing to make the attempt.

October 2.—A ministry has been formed, which I am inclined to augur rather well of. Mr. Hay, whom W—— originally sent for, takes, however, only a subordinate part in it, that of Minister of Crown Lands and Public Works; our prime Minister is Mr. Parker,[1] a man who is personally liked and respected by both sides of the House, an excellent man of business, and a good speaker. Mr. Donaldson comes in again as Colonial Treasurer; and one or two of the members of his ministry are in again also in different offices.

To the Right Hon. H. Labouchere.

Sydney, September 23, 1856.

My dear Sir,—You allude in your last letter to a subject upon which you had spoken more fully in your former one, namely, the separation of Moreton Bay. My objections to such a measure are based more upon the effect which will be produced upon Moreton Bay, than upon any injury which I anticipate to New South Wales. I think it very probable that a step which narrows

[1] Now Sir Henry Parker.

the boundaries of the colony, and compels us to concentrate our energies within our own territory, will tend to our advancement and social progress, instead of being a retrograde one. You say, with reference to the introduction of responsible Government, that my chief difficulty will be the scarcity of men of capacity and knowledge to qualify them to play the part of my advisers. There is, in truth, this scarcity; but the main difficulty is, not the absence of qualified, but the presence of a multiplicity of men who *conceive themselves* thoroughly qualified to direct the affairs of a great nation, to say nothing of those of a colony; and who have no hesitation in thrusting themselves forward, pressing their own crude opinions upon the Government, and who, under the plea of being *responsible advisers*, advocate measures the results of which they are too short-sighted to foresee, but for which, however ruinous, they cannot be punished. Responsibility is, in fact, a name, a clap-trap, a watch-word devised by the unscrupulous as a means of deluding the unwary, meaning nothing but the right of the majority to make fools of themselves without let or hindrance.

Believe me, &c.

W. D.

To the Right Hon. H. Labouchere.

Sydney, November 18, 1856.

My dear Sir,—In my last letter I enclosed the heads of a series of resolutions which were to be submitted to the House of Assembly, relative to the separation of Moreton Bay. These resolutions were carried with only four dissentient voices; and I have forwarded them to you, as requested, having, at the same time, given you an outline of my views on the subject of the boundary line separating the two colonies. I hope this despatch will arrive in time to enable you to revise your decision as expressed in yours on the subject; for I assure you that the feeling of the

colony is very adverse to the union of the Clarence and New England with Moreton Bay; and I cannot but believe that the opinion of Mr. Deas Thomson with reference to this has been allowed to have more weight than it was justly entitled to. At all events he has now entirely changed his views, and as he, when in England, was disposed to recommend that the boundary should go to the southward of 30°, and include the whole of the Clarence River district, so now he errs as far on the other side, and proposes to adopt the parallel of 28°. In point of fact, the lines recommended by him are altogether arbitrary, and founded upon nothing but a cursory inspection of a very indifferent map. The parallel of 28° would cut off from Moreton Bay a portion of Darling Downs, which always sends its produce to the port of Brisbane, just as the parallel of 30° cuts off from New South Wales a large portion of country which communicates with the port of Newcastle. I send in the bag another address on the subject of transportation. This is the result of an impression that the people of Moreton Bay would, when left to themselves, revert to their old proposal to receive convicts, as being the most rapid means of developing the resources of the colony. I trust, however, that the Government will not give such a handle to the discontented portion of the people of this colony, or be tempted to send convicts to Moreton Bay: were it to do so, the whole of the expense of constructing buildings, and forming establishments, &c. would have to be incurred; and just when all this had been done in the most perfect manner, the feeling of the people would become too strong to be resisted, and the story of Van Diemen's Land would be repeated. Enclosed you will find the contents of a paper which I read a few days ago to the Philosophical Society upon 'Irrigation;' a subject which has been but little attended to here, but for which there is more need than in any other country with which I am acquainted. It

will require, however, a good deal of pressure to be brought to bear upon the people before they will be willing to face the trouble and expense of bringing water upon their land. Abstract questions, that is, questions which do not admit of any positive answer, are readily entertained, because each man gives the result of his own narrow and limited experiences, and reasons upon it; making up for the want of the elements of thought, by the obstinacy with which he maintains his opinions, formed, as they are, probably, on incorrect premisses, or on false inferences from correct premisses.

Yours very truly,
W. D.

Extracts from Journal.

Sydney, December 26, 1856.

Dearest M——,— Somehow or other, the day slipped away yesterday without my even finding time to write and wish you all many a Happy Christmas, but not the less did we think of you, as I am sure you will have done of us: so I wish it you now.

Ours has not been quite so pleasant a Christmas as usual; yesterday was intensely hot; the first really Australian Christmas I have seen; and certainly a greater contrast to the dear old English Christmas could not well be imagined. We got to church certainly, and the church was dressed out with branches of a flowering shrub which they call Christmas, with a small, pale, pinkish yellow flower; nothing nearly so bright and pretty as the English holly: but when there, people sat fanning themselves, with windows, doors, and pew-doors open; and the state of things generally was very oppressive. In the afternoon it was really too hot to stir; so we sat still, some in the house, some in the garden. Late in the afternoon it got a little cooler, and after dinner we went out again, and really enjoyed the evening. You will laugh to hear

that, after all this heat, we went in doors, and played at snap-dragon! I really believe the children would hardly think it was Christmas Day without this game.

For three or four days we have had most oppressive weather; thunder storms which never cooled the air; closeness in the evening which obliged us to open our windows, though the result of that measure on a summer's evening here always is the introduction of a heterogeneous swarm of insects, which agitate one's nerves by perpetually dropping upon one. The night before last we actually slept with a grasshopper in the bed that we could not succeed in catching, and the following morning I got up to find another nondescript creature with long wings drowning in my tumbler, in which I had happened to leave a little water. I have a strong objection to strange insects, and W—— avows himself afraid of them, so these irruptions are not pleasant; but the weather has broken up now, and it is raining hard and feels absolutely cold.

CHAPTER XI.

RETURN OF EXPLORING EXPEDITION—DIFFICULTIES ABOUT GOVERNMENT DOMAIN AT PARRAMATTA—INTERCOLONIAL DISCUSSIONS—DIFFICULTIES ABOUT COLLECTION OF CUSTOMS—SHARK FISHING—DISASTROUS EXCURSION TO BROKEN BAY—REFERENCE FROM CORPORATION OF LAUNCESTON—BRANCH ASSOCIATIONS IN CONNECTION WITH CHURCH SOCIETY—SOLAR ECLIPSE—OPENING OF THE HUNTER RIVER RAILWAY—MURDER OF MR. PRICE — JOURNEY TO SOUTH-WESTERN DISTRICTS — FLOOD-BOUND AT BRAIDWOOD—DREADFUL SHIPWRECK.

To the Right Honourable H. Labouchere.

Government House, Sydney, January 8, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have the pleasure of announcing the arrival of Mr. Gregory and the overland party of the North Australian expedition, safe and sound. I have been relieved from a good deal of anxiety by their arrival, for I could not but anticipate that the delay caused by the damage done to the 'Tom Tough' might have affected them injuriously, by depriving them of provisions upon which they might have calculated. They made, however, a rapid march from the Victoria River, and reached the settlements to the north of Port Curtis, having only been compelled to kill a couple of horses for food. I shall be able to send you Mr. Gregory's official account of his journey, I hope, by this mail. It is evident that, of this great continent, more than three-fourths is an absolute howling wilderness. The available land to the northward does not amount to much; certainly not enough to form the basis of another colony to the north of Moreton Bay; that, at least, is my impression from my conversation with Mr. Gregory. Everyone speaks most highly of his con-

duct, and all his arrangements for the expedition seem to have been admirably made.

I have sent a despatch enclosing an address embodying a resolution of the Legislative Assembly relative to the rent of the domain at Parramatta. My despatch will explain all the circumstances connected with this; at least all those which can be mentioned in a public despatch; but, as is always the case, there has been a mixture of motives on the part of those who moved and supported the resolution. I do not believe that a personal attack was intended to be made on me, but there was an opening afforded by which a chance of ousting the Government was held out; and into this the opposition rushed with all the energy that party spirit, and the hope of obtaining office, could generate. The idea was, that I, taking my ground upon the principle that it was not within the power of the Assembly alone to determine such a question, would refuse to act in accordance with the resolution, and that the Ministry, as exponents of the views of the majority of the Assembly, would at once resign. Now, however much I might be disposed to resist an encroachment upon the functions of the Executive, I could not shut my eyes to the difficulty into which such a course would plunge me. It was the end of the financial year, the estimates were not passed, but little of the business of the session was done. Had I taken my stand upon the principle that the interference of the Legislature was unwarrantable, the Ministers would have resigned; and though I should, possibly, have been able to fill their places, yet I could hardly have done so with men for whom a majority would vote, and I should have been compelled to dissolve the Assembly. After much consideration, therefore, I decided to adopt the course explained in my despatches, by which, maintaining my right to act as I did, and asserting my responsibility to the Queen alone, I freed myself from the possibility of being supposed to have any personal interest

in the matter, by sacrificing the rent which I had received, amounting altogether to about 600*l.* I trust that you will not be of opinion that I have conceded too much, or that I have established a bad precedent.

Yours very truly,
W. D.

A few words will be necessary here to explain the circumstances connected with the house and domain at Parramatta, which induced the attack made by the Legislature upon the Government mentioned above.

When I assumed the Government of New South Wales, I found the Governor in possession of a house at Sydney, and a country residence at Parramatta, some thirteen or fourteen miles up the Parramatta River. The residence consisted of a rambling range of buildings, one story in height, with stables and farm buildings annexed, standing in a sort of park of a few hundred acres. A portion of this park had been brought under cultivation, and supplied hay and oats for the stable, and milk and butter for the house. There had been some difference between my predecessor and the Legislature as to the cost of the repair of the buildings, the effect of which was to hand them over to the white ants, so that when I drove down from Sydney to look at my country house, I found it altogether uninhabitable.

I had no wish to trouble the Legislature, at the commencement of my Government, with questions involving some outlay of money upon my account; experience had shown me that on such subjects all Legislatures are specially inclined to resist claims made upon them, though an appeal to their vanity or to their pity, may often be urged successfully. I accordingly, as I could not inhabit the house, nor cultivate the farm while residing at Sydney, let the place to a gentleman whose wants as regarded accommodation were fewer than

mine; and this arrangement had continued for about a couple of years, when the circumstances alluded to in the foregoing letter occurred.

To the Right Hon. H. Labouchere.

Government House, Sydney, February 7, 1857.

My dear Sir,—I have at last been enabled to send you the opinion of the Executive Council as to the division of the debt between New South Wales and Moreton Bay; and in such a form as will, I hope, enable the Government to deal with the question either in accordance with my views or those of the Council. The people of Moreton Bay are, I believe, under the delusion that they have been robbed of their fair proportion of the revenue, which they imagine has been applied to the benefit of the southern part of the colony. The scheme of the Council would settle this question; and in my opinion, which is founded upon approximate returns, by no means in favour of Moreton Bay. I am afraid, however, that any attempt to carry out a debtor and creditor account as between the two colonies would lead to interminable disputes, and much angry feeling.

You will get some further resolutions of the Legislative Assembly relative to the domain at Parramatta, alluded to in my last letter; and in the meantime I have caused a bill to be introduced, enabling the Government to alienate the domain. This bill, if passed, will virtually negative the assumption of the Assembly; for if the land be, as they affirm, waste land of the Crown, it could of course be dealt with as such, without the form of an Act.

The Victoria Government has an inclination to press hardly upon that of South Australia, in the matter of the Murray river navigation, and has sought to induce me to concur with it in so doing. On the other hand, the Government of South Australia is anxious to avail itself

of its position at the mouth of the Murray, to collect the duties on imports there, and to send the articles up by the river into both New South Wales and Victoria. I hope, however, that I have staved off any unpleasant action for the present, and I have, in a communication to Sir Richard Macdonnell, laid the foundation of such a general agreement on the subject of customs duties as may enable us to get rid of the nuisance of internal custom-houses. I hope your decision as to the boundary line between us and Moreton Bay will obviate the necessity on the part of that colony of having recourse to such an expedient. I am afraid that some difficulties will arise between us and Victoria, when the population of the district adjoining the boundary becomes more dense, unless some scheme analogous to that of the Zollverein in Germany can be carried out.

Yours very truly,

W. D.

To Mrs. Denison.

Government House, Sydney, February 5, 1857.

My dearest Mother,—A—— and I are going up in the 'Juno' to a bay called Broken Bay, about twelve miles north of Sydney, for three or four days' fishing. We had rather a successful day's sport about ten days ago, at Botany Bay, where we caught, in two boats, about a hundred and sixty fish of different kinds; none of them very large, it is true, but heavy enough to give us some excitement in pulling them in. In our boat we caught a couple of sharks about five or six feet in length. One of them I struck with a lance, as it was pulled up to the surface, and to my surprise, the lance went through it as if it had been a pat of butter, and I was very near overboard. Political matters here are going on quietly; the two Houses have now been sitting eight months and a half, and yet the business they have got through is as

nothing; in fact, all might have been done in six weeks instead of six months. I trust the next session will be a shorter one. My poor old colony, Van Diemen's Land, is in a very miserable condition. I kept warning the people of what would be the result of the cessation of transportation, and the blow has now come upon them, but by no means to the uttermost. Bankruptcies are of daily occurrence; labour is of course scarce and dear, and, as the people cannot or will not pay high wages, the evil is enhanced by the emigration of the working class to Melbourne or Sydney, but generally to the former. I have several correspondents at Hobart Town, and they give me miserable pictures of the state of affairs.

Your affectionate Son,
W. D.

The trip in the 'Juno' to Broken Bay terminated unsatisfactorily. The weather was bad, for it rained hard when we started, and we had to beat down the harbour against a head wind, making short tacks, and losing at one nearly all that we had gained on the other. At last, just as we cleared the South Head, we were met by a shift of wind which compelled us at once to anchor, to avoid being driven, stern on, upon the reef. We got two anchors down with about sixty fathoms of cable out; and having a stiff north-easterly breeze blowing, with the reef not a cable's length astern of us, we had to look to our cables and anchors to keep us clear. Luckily the wind lulled, and we held on satisfactorily during the night, but signalled for a steamer to lend us a helping hand in the morning, and giving up our trip to Broken Bay, were glad to get back to Sydney.

To Colonel Harness, R.E.

Government House, Sydney, Feburary 20, 1857.

My dear Harness,—The mail now passes your door; there is no excuse, therefore, for neglect of correspondence. You cannot have so much on hand as to prevent you from bestowing occasionally half an hour upon me, and I, though I keep up an active correspondence with a very large number of friends and relations, will yet find time to let you know how matters are going on with me. I am as busy as possible. The work of the Government is taken out of my hands, and placed in those of responsible Ministers, as they are termed; so that I have less to think of in that way than I used to have; but I manage to make work for myself. I am President of a Philosophical Society, and I have succeeded in organising an Agricultural Society. For both of these I have to write. This gives me something to do. For the last week I have been employed in looking over the plans for the sewerage of Launceston in Van Diemen's Land. The Mayor and Corporation asked me to act as judge of the plans sent in to compete for the prizes offered by them, for the best and second best schemes of drainage and sewerage. No less than fifteen plans were submitted, and I have had to read over and analyse each, in order to be able to give a fair judgment, and no ordinary labour did it entail upon me. We have had some very hot weather lately, and have been living in an atmosphere of steam. The summer, however, draws to a close towards the end of this month, and though we have hot weather occasionally in March and April, yet it is interspersed with cool days, and is endurable. I hope to be able to get away from Sydney for a week or two soon, but am tied by the leg till the Parliament is prorogued.

I tried, as I told you, to press upon the Legislature the subject of railways, but the whole question has been

referred to a committee, so what the results will be, it is impossible to foresee; nothing energetic or brilliant, I can safely affirm.

Last year, or rather in 1855, an expedition was sent to explore the north-western part of the continent. The men returned a few weeks ago, and the result of the information obtained is, that Australia consists of a narrow belt of good land to the south, east, and north, varying from, say 250 miles in width to 60; on the west coast the desert, which fills up the whole interior, abuts on the coast. In fact, five-sixths of the whole block of land is desert; yet we constantly hear people talking of the destinies of this great continent as being similar to those of America! The destinies of a dry, arid, unproductive country, without rivers, or means of internal communication, what are they? The people who talk in this way can have a very slight conception of the influence which water and the means of water communication exercise upon the destinies, as they term it, of a people.

Yours truly,

W. D.

Extracts from Journal.

Sydney, March 16, 1857.

Dearest M——,—I think I told you, some time ago, that W—— and the Bishop, assisted by the clergy and others, were organising a 'Church Society,' or association of all the members of the Church of England in the diocese, for the promotion of general Church purposes; for providing clergymen, churches, and schools for the outlying bush districts, where no provision of the kind exists now; and for furnishing to the clergy in the towns a regularly organised staff of lay assistants, for school and district visiting, &c. Little Branch Associations of this Church Society have been formed in almost every parish of the diocese; and W—— has been placed on the

working committee of our own parish association, not, of course, in his capacity as Governor-General, but as a simple parishioner. Mr. Allwood, the clergyman of the parish, preached on the subject last Sunday, and took occasion to invite the parishioners generally to meet him yesterday evening, to hear what had already been done, and to begin to enrol themselves as labourers in the different branches of work which would be required. W——, of course, was to be there, and we agreed that I and the girls should go too, partly for the sake of example, and partly because W—— and I have both put our names down as being willing to become school visitors under the new system. The Report of the proceedings of the Committee was a very good one, pointing out the varieties of work to be done, the different classes of persons who, by age, sex, and position, would be best qualified for the different kinds of work, and the advisability of all such persons having a recognised character as servants of the Church, instead of being the mere spiritual knights-errant which school and district visitors too frequently are. Unfortunately, it was a wet night, so the attendance was not as numerous as it otherwise would have been; but several names were enrolled of persons willing to help in the different branches of work, so I hope that, at any rate, a beginning has been made.

26*th*.—There was a total eclipse of the sun this morning: the sun was to rise partially eclipsed, and to be totally so at a little before seven o'clock. Of course we were all on the alert to see it; and several people, I believe, went out to the Heads, for the pleasure of seeing the sun rise out of the sea. It was very pretty to see it rise with two horns, like a crescent moon, the centre part being already eclipsed; but, unfortunately, the sky clouded over before the time of greatest obscuration, or it would have been a grand sight; even as it was, the

darkness was much beyond what I had expected; one could scarcely see things in the room.

To Mrs. Denison.

Government House, Sydney, April 3, 1857.

My dearest Mother,—A—— and I went up to Newcastle to be present at the opening of the Hunter River railway. We got on board the steamer at eleven o'clock on Sunday night, and were back at about the same time, or a little later, on Monday night. Everything went off very well; the people were delighted to see a railway at work, and were well pleased with me for advocating railways, and for exhibiting an interest in them by coming up to open theirs.

I prorogued the Legislature on the 18th or 19th of last month (I forget which). The Ministers were anxious to bring the session to a close. I was equally anxious that it should come to an end; so, as is usual, several bills were postponed to the next session, and the estimates having been passed, a sort of irregular notice was given by the Colonial Secretary of my intention to come down in person to prorogue the Legislature the very next day. While we were making our preparations for this, sundry doubts were suggested as to the temper of the Lower House, whether the members would muster in sufficient numbers to make a house, &c. However, a quorum was present, and the time till I came down was occupied in an attack upon the Colonial Secretary for want of courtesy, in not letting them know officially that I was coming down. The debate was getting virulent when, luckily, the Serjeant at Arms stepped in amongst them to summon them to attend me; and off they trooped, some angry, the most part delighted. I shall now have about four months' leisure, which I propose to expend, in part at all events, in visiting different districts in the colony, and perhaps, Norfolk Island.

You will be very sorry to hear of the death of Mr. Price. He was Commandant of Norfolk Island when I was in Van Diemen's Land, and when the convicts were removed from thence he went over to Melbourne, and was made the head of their penal establishment, with a salary of 1,000*l.* per annum and allowances. He was a good officer, that is, earnest and zealous in doing his duty, but his system was a bad one, depending very much on corporal punishment, and upon an organised system of espionage. I had occasion to call the attention of the Government to this when he was at Norfolk Island. He had, I suppose, been carrying out the same system at Melbourne, and the men, being irritated, laid a plan to murder him, and succeeded. They refused to work one day when landed from the hulks, and when Price was sent for in consequence, they rushed upon him with stones and their working tools, and killed him. Sir H. Barkly has written to me to ask me to recommend a man capable of establishing a system similar to that in force in Van Diemen's Land, aud I have mentioned two names to him, but have warned him that the system is very different from that which Price had been carrying out. In Melbourne they suffer from the harshness of the system; in England you are suffering from the absurd lenity of it; a mean between the two would probably hit the mark.

Your affectionate Son,

W. D.

To Mrs. Denison.

Brownlow Hill, June 5, 1857.

My dearest Mother,—You will see by the date of my letter that I have left Sydney, and I am now on my way to the southward, my departure having been delayed in order to enable me to be present at the usual birthday ball. Everything went off very well, review and levée

on Monday, ball on Tuesday, a bazaar on Wednesday, the races on Thursday, and another ball on Friday. We, that is A—— and I, with the two girls, are staying with Mr. George Macleay. We had been asked to come up several times, and had often promised to do so, and as often been obliged to put off our journey. At last I decided that we would go, in spite of weather and roads; so, although it had been raining heavily on the Wednesday, we started on Thursday by the half-past ten o'clock train (having sent our baggage on previously). When we got to the end of our railway journey we had to ride twenty-four miles, and I do not suppose that you could ever have dreamed of such a road; the very worst Nottinghamshire clay lane was a turnpike to it. Several waggons with light loads were upon the roads, the team being fourteen bullocks, instead of the usual one for heavy loads, of ten bullocks or five horses; had we not been able to get through the fences, we never should have reached this place. As it was, the girls' things, which had been sent on the day before, had not arrived when we reached our destination at about six o'clock; they were in a wretched state, wet, draggled, and dirty, their habits torn by going through the bush, &c. Mrs. Macleay, however, dressed them in her own gowns, which, as she is a tall person, looked as if the age of long trains was coming in again. We shall stay here till Monday next, when we proceed southward by stages not exceeding twenty-four miles per day, as the roads are in a terrible condition. I do not suppose that we should be able to get our cart with baggage over a greater number of miles, though we have put on a supplementary horse. The girls will return with Mr. Macleay to town, leaving us to toil through the mud. We have, however, now, the prospect of fine weather, and the journey and the exercise will be of use to me.

The place where we are stopping is very prettily

situated on a curious flat-topped knoll, rising out of a plain by the side of a brook; the soil is beautiful; I never saw such a growth either of flowers or fruit-trees as is shown in a garden which has just been made in the alluvial soil of the flat. I do not know that any one can have a more enviable position than my host; he has ample means to work out any hobbies he may take up, and as horticulture is his especial taste, he has every opportunity of developing it to the fullest extent. He is a clever, well-informed man, was a contemporary of Robert Phillimore at Westminster; and his house is one of the pleasantest that I have visited. Mrs. Macleay is a very kind hostess, and our girls have been very happy under her care.

Politically matters wear rather an unfortunate aspect, so far as regards my present Ministers, but I do not think that this has much action upon me. I am not identified with any set of men, and in point of fact I am making myself as useful as I can to the community at large, and, keeping myself aloof from all parties, I am looking to the public to support me, and I believe that it will.

In Van Diemen's Land responsible government does not seem to work well. Some curious people have been returned as members of the assembly; one of these the other day complained to the Speaker that the Colonial Secretary was making faces at him! A pretty amusement for a Colonial Secretary during a debate!

Your affectionate Son,

W. D.

Extract from Journal.

Government House, Sydney, June 12, 1857.

I have very satisfactory letters from W—— as often as the state of roads and posts admits of communication, which is almost every day. His reception everywhere seems to have been very cordial, and at Goulburn (the

principal town of the southern districts) they say there was a greater demonstration of welcome than has ever been given to any previous Governor. He remained there three days, held a levée on Saturday, and was to start on his farther progress as yesterday.

The girls got home last Saturday, escorted by their host, Mr. Macleay, but their journey down was marked by disasters. Really these settlers think nothing of difficulties, and do not at all appreciate the discomforts of their own bad roads: so Mr. Macleay altered the plan which W—— had supposed they would act on, of riding down; sent the girls' horses back to town with our servant, who, in the event of their riding, was to have taken charge of their baggage, and determined to bring them down in his carriage; and their portmanteaus were sent to Camden to be brought on by the mail, as complacently and confidently as if there had been a well-appointed English mail ready to convey it, and English roads for them all to travel on. The consequences of this arrangement were that after toiling on for about twelve miles Mr. Macleay's carriage broke down (the front part of it coming off somehow, and the remainder sticking fast in a mud hole); and Mr. Macleay and the girls had to get out, and walk two miles to the house of a Mrs. Cordeaux, who gave them shelter for the night, and sent them on the next day in her own carriage to Liverpool, where they got on the railway: a degree of chivalrous generosity, which, considering the state of the roads, and the consequent risk to her carriage, was very great. Happily, however, no further accident happened, and so the girls got home safely, though up to this time we have no tidings of their portmanteaus, and when, if ever, we shall see them again, seems to be very uncertain.

To W. Denison, Esq.

Braidwood, June 18, 1857.

My dear Willy,—I wrote to you last from Goulburn. We left that place on Monday, and rode down here, stopping at an inn half way.

Braidwood is the sort of capital of the southern gold district; it stands prettily upon the top of a granite knoll with hills rising around it. The road by which we came was a good one; and we forded the Shoalhaven river about twelve miles from here, the water not being up to the horses' knees. On the night of our arrival, however, the wind changed to the south-east, and it began to rain. It continued all yesterday and last night without intermission, and though it stopped for an hour or so this morning, it has now commenced again, and bids fair to continue for another twenty-four hours. The effect is not only to make our river impassable, but to fill all the creeks in the little valleys which surround us, so that we are practically confined to the little granite knoll on which the town is built. Luckily we have a comfortable inn over our heads, plenty of firewood, and a fair supply of books, so that the time does not hang very heavily on our hands. In addition to letters, I have taken in hand a fresh paper upon railways for the Philosophical Society; the practical experience which I have had of the roads having qualified me to speak more positively as regards the necessity for them, than I could last year. The diggers here are a more fixed set than elsewhere; they are content to earn a sort of regular wages, about ten shillings per day; they work in the bed of the creek, making dams to turn the water into channels cut to receive it and carry it past the works. These dams and channels, however, are not intended for seasons such as this; a flood sweeps away the labour of a month, and compels the men to begin again. The advantage of the fixity of occupation is shown on

occasions such as these, for the storekeepers are willing to trust men who remain on the spot, and do not hesitate to provide food, &c., while the weather is bad, in the certainty of being repaid from the produce of the work of fine weather.

July 20.—The river will not be down till Monday at earliest. This afternoon we made our way up to the top of a conical hill about five hundred feet high, and had a good view of all the country round. It did not offer a very inviting prospect, as it was all covered with wood, except where, here and there, little plains had been laid bare of trees by the floods: we had, however, a very extensive view. Do you recollect how Captain C—— used to thunder out the hard names he picked up in New Zealand? Here we have plenty of similar native names: the mountain we climbed up was called Jillymatong; we looked over Jimmaycumbene swamp to the Buddarang Mountains, &c. On coming down the hill we had a 'possum' hunt: a shepherd had set fire to a hollow tree, and smoked the opossum out of his hole; he was sitting disconsolately at the end of a branch, watching a dog that was barking below, and bobbing his head occasionally to get out of the way of the sticks and stones which flew about his ears; he was often hit, but kept his post to the last, and in fact tired us out. I went off after watching the sport for about an hour, but A—— stayed there till dark.

Sydney, July 4.—I have made a great jump from Braidwood to Sydney. We got off from Braidwood on Monday, the 22nd, the river being *only just* fordable, and pushed steadily down without stopping more than a night at any place till we got to Mr. Macarthur's house at Camden on Saturday. On Monday we got down to Liverpool in time for the half-past three train, and the only accident we met with was that our baggage cart being placed close to

the engine, the tarpaulin which covered it took fire; luckily it was put out before it did much damage.

Your affectionate Father,
W. D.

Extract from Journal.

August 22.

The whole town has been shocked and saddened by a most dreadful shipwreck that has occurred, as it were, close to our doors; and, what is worse, the destruction is so utter, that no one even knows whether it is one ship, or two, that have gone. Whatever it was must have gone to pieces in a few moments, for not a creature seems to have seen or heard anything of it at the time, and it was only the fearful sight of fragments of wreck, and numbers of floating bodies of men, women, and children, that first told the sad tale in the morning. It was the night before last that there came on one of those fearful gales, and tremendous falls of rain, of which we have had so many this year; and in the morning (yesterday) the captain of a coasting steamer coming in, reported that, just between the Heads, he had sailed through masses of floating timber, apparently coming from some wreck. Of course the harbour-master and pilots, and everybody who could be of any use, went off to see what could be done; but we, in the town, did not think much about it, because, in the very last gale, there was a vessel wrecked, and it was reported that all hands were lost, which afterwards proved not to be the case. So we hoped it might have been the same this time; but as the day wore on, there came dreadful reports of bodies, &c. having been washed ashore, and by the afternoon the cliffs at the South Head were crowded with people, looking at the fearful sight of a mass of bodies, some of them already frightfully battered and mutilated, which were being dashed against the rocks, and carried back again

with every wave. The gale and sea still continued at such a height that no boat could get at them; but this morning it is calm, and it is said that twelve bodies have come ashore in Middle Harbour. A steamer has gone down there, with the Coroner and other authorities on board, to see if these remains can be identified; and search is being made all along the coast for anybody or anything else that can be picked up. It is pretty evident that the calamity must have happened almost close to the South Head; but as yet there does not seem to be a living creature left to tell the tale, or to say when it happened. The only trace of an idea on this head has been given by the light-house keeper, who says that, at a little after twelve o'clock on the night of the gale, he was out seeing after something connected with the light, when his dog ran to the edge of the cliff, and stood there for nearly an hour barking furiously, apparently at the sea, or at something which he saw upon it. It must have been not far from the light-house that the ship went ashore, so it is possible that the dog may have had a perception of something happening; but the man does not seem to have seen or heard anything. Of course everyone was on the *qui vive* all yesterday, for anything that should give a clue to what the vessel was; and I grieve to say that, by the evening, things were washed on shore which identified her pretty clearly as being the 'Dunbar.' And yet this, in itself, seems wonderful; for the 'Dunbar' is a regular trader here, a remarkably fine vessel, and her captain one of the most careful and experienced in this trade; a good sailor, who knows the coast so thoroughly, that one would have thought he would have been the last to venture on this very narrow entrance and this iron-bound coast in such a gale.

August 22.—Evening. There is a man saved! The poor creature was seen in the course of this morning clinging to the rocks; and, by dint of lowering ropes, &c.

to him, they contrived to haul him up to the top of the cliffs: and though of course a good deal exhausted, he is said to be really better than one could have expected. There are flying reports about, to the effect that two other living persons have been discovered on the rocks, one of them a woman; but of this nothing seems to be known with certainty. Eighteen bodies, I believe, have been brought on shore.

August 27.— I am sorry to say that this rumour of two other living persons having been seen on the rocks has proved untrue; after the most careful search, no one has been found except the man before-mentioned, who was one of the seamen of the 'Dunbar.' I do not think I ever heard of such a total destruction: I would not, if I could, describe to you all the horrors that have been seen in the way of poor mutilated bodies and detached heads and limbs, owing to the violence of the waves, and ferocity of the sharks. It is quite enough to say that, since the gale has been over, steamers and boats have been round the harbour, picking up bodies, and bits of bodies, from every different little bay or bit of beach where they have been thrown; and now they are trying to do the same with respect to the cargo: but it really is as if almost everything had been ground into little bits, for it is quite remarkable, out of such a valuable cargo as that ship is known to have had, how little has come ashore in a state to be worth saving. Several of the poor bodies were identified and claimed by their relations here: the unclaimed ones, to the number of eighteen, were all buried on Monday afternoon, after the inquest, and a most touching sight the funeral must have been. It was very nice to see the strong and general sympathy that was manifested, and to know that these poor nameless remains were as tenderly and respectfully cared for, as if they had died surrounded by their own nearest and dearest. The one solitary survivor followed them as chief mourner;

and with him were some of the city and harbour authorities, and many others. All the shops were closed on the line of road along which this mournful procession of hearses passed; and indeed, all through the town: even the public offices were closed, and all business suspended. I am sorry to end my letter with such a sad tale as this; but really all Sydney has thought and talked of little else.

CHAPTER XII.

NORFOLK ISLAND.

THE state of the Pitcairn Islanders, the descendants of the mutineers of the 'Bounty,' had more than once been brought under the notice of the Government, and, in 1853, the inhabitants of Pitcairn themselves suggested that they should be removed to some spot exempt from the probable visitation of famine. They pointed out Norfolk Island, from which the prospective cessation of transportation had enabled the Government to remove most of the convicts, as a place well suited for their future abode; and accordingly I received orders to arrange for the transference of the whole of the inhabitants of Pitcairn Island to Norfolk Island. The correspondence, as the letters had to go round the world, took some time, and it was not till early in 1856, that I was in a position to charter a ship to proceed to Pitcairn Island, there to embark the whole of the population, numbering about 200 souls, and to land them at Norfolk Island, where a small party of men had been left to keep the buildings in repair, and to prepare for the reception of the new colonists. While the vessel was making her way to her destination, the Bishop of New Zealand paid me a visit. He had called at Norfolk Island on his way from Auckland, and as the people had not arrived, he ran down to Sydney in his yacht, for the purpose of discussing with me certain matters having reference to the spiritual and material interests of the new settlers, as he claimed the island as part of his diocese, it being included within the territorial limits mentioned in his patent.

I, however, had reason to believe that the island was in the diocese of Tasmania; and as my views differed from those of his Lordship with regard to the government of the island, I referred the whole question to the Secretary of State. The following letter will explain the views of the Bishop with relation to these people, and my own opinion as to their propriety.

To the Right Hon. H. Labouchere.

Government House, Sydney, July 21, 1856.

Sir,—I have forwarded by this mail copies of correspondence between myself and the Bishop of New Zealand on the subject of Norfolk Island. His Lordship was anxious to send a chaplain there at once; but I thought it better that as little interference as possible should take place with the islanders at present. The correspondence which I forward has developed a scheme with relation to the occupation of the island which may seriously affect the position of the islanders, and which I should be sorry to see carried out without much consideration, and the most satisfactory guarantees for the maintenance of the rights and privileges of the civil part of the community.

The scheme, as far as I can make it out, contemplates the establishment of a Bishop at Norfolk Island, whose diocese is to extend over the South Sea Islands generally. It appears to me, that this arrangement, which is likely to commend itself to the mind of the general community by its appearance of enlarged benevolence, may nevertheless prove inoperative of good, from the absence of due consideration of the details.

It is probable, that were the bishopric handed over to Dr. Selwyn, he would work it energetically; but in the hands of a less active and enterprising person, the very position of Norfolk Island with regard to the rest of the diocese would be a bar to the exercise of that active

superintendence which is, or ought to be, implied in the very name of Bishop. The Bishop of New Zealand is a zealous, hard working man; he is fond of enterprise, very fond of the sea, and would like nothing better than to sail from island to island, in a climate where the summer may almost be said to be perpetual, engaged in missionary work; that is, in planting and supervising missionary stations. Were he, then, at Norfolk Island, he would find means, I dare say, of getting away in his yacht, and being absent the best part of the year among the South Sea Islands; but put a man there who is not so fond of the sea, whose stomach is easily upset, he would never venture beyond the limits of the island, and would make the very difficulty which the absence of harbour and anchorage presents, a reason, and a valid one, for shirking his work. It strikes me that a Bishop should be among his flock; and as the flock of the new Bishop is to be looked for among the South Sea Islanders, among them he had better reside; he will get to know their habits, modes of thought, language, &c. far easier when he is always among them than were he to visit them for a week or so occasionally.

Yours very truly,

W. D.

Pending a reply to this letter, and the despatches alluded to in it, matters went on satisfactorily as regarded the Pitcairn Islanders, as will be seen by the following extract from a letter dated Sydney, October 27, 1856.

'Captain Fremantle has just returned from his cruise, and as he called at Norfolk Island, both on his way from Sydney and on his return, he has had the opportunity of seeing the Pitcairn Islanders under two very different aspects. When he first visited them, they were uncomfortable; the novelty of everything at Norfolk Island frightened them, and several were anxious to get back to their old home. This, however, is no longer the case ex-

cept with one or two of the oldest: the rest are satisfied, and they are beginning to set to work with some method.'

By the mail which reached Sydney in October 1856, I received a copy of the Order in Council, vesting the Government of Norfolk Island in the Governor of New South Wales for the time being; and with this, instructions giving to the Governor, not merely the usual power as head of the Executive, but also those of the two Houses of Parliament in addition; power to make the laws as well as to see to their execution. The following letters and narrative will show how I acted in this unprecedented 'Variety of Vice-regal Life.' My first step was to notify to the Bishop of New Zealand the powers conferred upon me, which I did in the following letter.

To the Bishop of New Zealand.

Government House, Sydney, October 29, 1856.

My dear Lord,—I have two letters to thank you for, one, dated September 16, from Auckland, the other dated October 14, from Norfolk Island. The latter was most especially welcome, as it relieved me from a feeling of anxiety on the subject of the islanders, which originated in reports from the captains of different vessels, all of them having, as it appears, a substratum of truth, but all coloured more or less according to the feelings or fancies of the individual.

Captain Fremantle arrived yesterday, and his report was corroborative of yours, not merely as to the general state of the settlement, but as to the character of the magistrate, Mr. Young.

By the last mail I received an Order in Council, separating the island from Van Diemen's Land, and vesting the Government in the Governor of New South Wales for the time being. I send you copies of the proclamation which I have caused to be published in the *Gazette*, by which you will see that my powers are sufficient to regu-

late all matters connected with the civil administration of the island; criminal business I hope there will be none for some time at all events.

In a letter to the Secretary of State, alluding to the obligation just imposed upon me of sending down more stores to the Island, I pointed out the advisability of ceasing to issue supplies *gratuitously* from henceforward; that is, from the time that the first crops become available, and I trust that you will agree with me in this. Believe me,

Yours very truly,

W. D.

I notified to the Secretary of State my intention to visit the island as soon as possible, for the purpose of making myself acquainted with my new subjects, and of ascertaining their wants and wishes; but I was unable to do so in 1856, and at the beginning of 1857 I was obliged to tell Mr. Labouchere that I saw no prospect of being able to visit the island till late in the year, as the Legislative Assembly seemed inclined to sit permanently without hatching anything. I got, however, in January a letter from Mr. Young, the magistrate, in which he spoke of everything as going on satisfactorily, so that this enforced delay was not of much importance.

In September 1857, though the Assembly was still in session, one of those sudden changes occurred which set me free for a time. My ministers were obliged to resign, and as their successors adjourned Parliament for six weeks in order to perfect their arrangements and secure their return, I gladly availed myself of the opportunity to run down to Norfolk Island, Captain Loring having offered to take me there in Her Majesty's ship 'Iris.' Having, in accordance with my instructions, handed over the government of New South Wales to a triumvirate, of which the officer commanding the troops, Col. Bloomfield, was the head, I embarked on September 18, and, after a fair

run, sighted the island on the 23rd, the distance being about nine hundred miles. The first land we made was Philip Island, a precipitous barren-looking mass, apparently volcanic, lying about five or six miles to the south of Norfolk Island, and contrasting in the most marked manner with it in appearance. The wind being to the southward of west, we stood through the channel between the two islands, and as there was sufficient of a breeze to get up somewhat of a sea, we could not land at the regular place near the town or settlement, but had to run round the east side of the island. The state of the surf at the landing place was notified by a blue flag at the head of the pier. When we came in sight of the landing place at the north side of the island, we saw a body of the islanders collected there, and a stream of women, all dressed alike, pouring across to join them. We sent in a boat to ascertain whether the landing was safe, and having received a satisfactory report, I and my brother, and a couple of midshipmen who were to act as aides-de-camp, went ashore. We landed in a small indentation rather than a bay, the outlet of a narrow ravine, running down from the high land of the interior; anchoring the boat at some distance from the beach, which was formed of large boulders of basalt, and backing it in to a flat rock, which, when the wind blows from any point from east round by north to west, must have a heavy sea rolling in upon it.

At the time we landed there was only an ordinary swell, which, however, would have made it awkward to attempt to bring the boat alongside of the rock. Thirty or forty of the islanders were collected at the landing, headed by the chaplain, the Rev. G. H. Nobbs, and Mr. Young, the chief magistrate. I picked out Mr. Nobbs at once from his dress, and then shook hands with all the others; and having given directions to the midshipmen to look after the baggage, my brother and I walked

across to the settlement, a distance of about three or three and a half miles. On our way we met the stream of women coming to meet us; they were all dressed alike, in a sort of common white calico pinafore with sleeves, unconfined at the waist, which gave them the appearance of overgrown children. We were startled at being introduced to the grandmother and grandchild dressed alike, and looking at a little distance like two sisters.

The road from the landing place, made of course by the convicts, wound up the ravine before mentioned till it reached the general table land of the island, about four hundred feet above the level of the sea. When I say, 'table land,' I do not mean that it is generally level; we had most beautiful views of valleys and hills clothed with wood, in which the Norfolk Island pine formed the principal timber tree; these views nearly always having a peep of the sea in the distance. The road descended to the settlement, as it was termed, or the spot where the main mass of building for the accommodation of the convicts had been constructed, on a level spot between the cliff and the sea. The view from the top of the cliff embraced these buildings, and the two islands, Philip and Nepean, with a broad sweep of the ocean beyond and around them.

The report made to me by both Mr. Nobbs and the magistrates of the condition of the people was, in the main, satisfactory. Most of them were well pleased with their new home, but some, especially Adams, the son of the original John Adams, and those connected with him, wished to go back to Pitcairn; they were asthmatic, the food did not agree with them, in fact, they were beginning a new life too late. They told me that the Bishop of New Zealand had been there, and had left Mrs. Selwyn on the island to await his return; they also said that they were out of flour, and that beef and potatoes formed the substance of their meals. They, considering they had

never tasted meat of any kind at Pitcairn, took very kindly to animal food, and had devoured a good number of the sheep and cattle which had been left when the convicts were removed to Van Diemen's Land. Some whalers had called in for fresh provisions and water, and beef had been sold to them at 3*d.* per pound. The cattle were in beautiful condition; they had killed one which weighed 1,400 pounds, a very fair weight for a grass-fed bullock, but one could not wonder at their condition when one saw the luxuriance of the grass, which covered the ground with a mat some eight or nine inches deep.

On my arrival at the settlement I went at once to call on Mrs. Selwyn. I found that she had been on the island two months, and had made herself very useful, attending the school daily, and training the older girls. The Bishop had gone down to the Islands, and had taken with him five of the Pitcairners; he was not expected to return before the end of October. I wished Mrs. Selwyn to return to Government House, but she was comfortable where she was, and declined to move.

I looked into the dairy on my way to Government House, and was well pleased to find a good supply of milk and butter. The children and the women on their first arrival had declined to touch milk, but they have now discovered its good qualities, and it has become the principal breakfast beverage. The Government House stands well, on a gentle rise facing the sea; it has a good verandah on three sides, and is a respectable one-story building; there are two good rooms on each side of the entrance, and behind them are several smaller rooms used as bedrooms; in the rear are kitchens, servants' rooms, &c. After some trouble we got rid of our friends, who were most anxious to assist us in every way. We lighted a fire in one of the sitting-rooms, and got some tea. We luckily had secured our dinner before we left the 'Iris,' for we found ourselves badly off for eatables, all that we

could get being some old weevilly biscuit, and some eggs. However, we contented ourselves with these for the present, having arranged to send off to the 'Iris' in the morning for flour, &c. &c.

After tea, the magistrate came in. He first handed me a letter from Quintal, one of those who had gone with the Bishop in his yacht, expressing a wish that the views of his Lordship as to the establishment on Norfolk Island of a college for the *Melanesian youth*, or young South Sea Islanders, should be carried into effect. He then handed me a paper addressed by the Bishop to the Magistrate of Norfolk Island, to be by him submitted to a general meeting of the heads of families. This paper commenced by a sort of claim of right to the Episcopate, on the ground that the island was within the territorial limits of the diocese of New Zealand; and stress was laid upon the advantages which would result to the islanders from the constant residence of a Bishop among them. The establishment of a Melanesian College was then alluded to as holding out prospects to the islanders of securing a good education for their children. It would seem that this, together with some other proposals as to the form of government for the island, had been submitted by the Bishop to the Pitcairn's Island committee in London, but had been repudiated by them. Some of the islanders, however, are willing to accede to the views of the Bishop, while others are more disposed to abide by my decision. Early in the morning I went down to look at the landing-place; the surf was rolling in heavily, and no boat could have got in without running great risk of being capsized; there were three or four lines of rollers, each breaking heavily. The jetty has not been carried out quite far enough to give much shelter; it might have been lengthened about forty feet with advantage, and not much difficulty. There was, however, still water under the lee of it, short as it was. When a boat was coming

in, some convicts with ropes used always to be placed at the end of the jetty, to help in case of accident; and these men never hesitated to dash into the water to assist others struggling in the surf. I was told that it was to one of these men that Captain Keppel owed his life. He would come ashore in his own gig, which was swamped in the surf, he being seized upon by a convict, and brought out like a drowned rat. The men who behaved well on such duty as this, and saved, or helped to save, life, were always rewarded by a remission of a portion of their sentence.

I looked at the buildings in the course of my walk. They seemed in good repair, had cut limestone quoins, were built of a coarse coral rag, and covered with rough cast. The rough rag holds the mortar well, both in the joints and face of the work. After breakfast, Mr. Nobbs and the chief magistrate came up to Government House to accompany me to the school-room, where I had told the people to assemble in order to hear me read my commission as Governor. Mr. Young brought with him a copy of the Laws and Regulations of the Island, being the same as those in force at Pitcairn. We walked down to the school-room, but found it empty; after a time the people came sauntering in by twos and threes, and at last we got the whole of them together. After explaining to them the object for which I had called them together, I read my commission; made them a short address, noticing their want of punctuality, and reminding them of the value of time; then I told them that I proposed to run down to New Zealand to bring up flour and stores, and desired them to make out lists of the articles which they wanted, and I would procure them at Auckland. I wrote also to Mrs. Selwyn, notifying my intention to visit Auckland, and offering to convey letters, or execute any commission with which she would entrust me. My decision to run down to New Zealand originated in

a wish to relieve the islanders from their enforced diet of animal food, and I determined to take the opportunity of purchasing some furniture for the Government House, so that if, at any future time, a visitor might arrive at the island, he might not be altogether dependent on the charity of the people for bedding and furniture.

My intention had been to start at once for Auckland; but, on the return of the midshipman whom I had sent to communicate with the 'Iris,' he reported, 'No ship in sight;' and on further enquiry, we heard that she had been seen a long way to leeward, but heading in a direction which might bring her up to the island at night or the next morning. Instead, therefore, of packing up, we took a walk round the south and south-west sides of the island. We started from the settlement, and followed a road leading up one of the ravines which drain the centre of the island. After rising gradually for about a quarter of a mile, we came to a dam which had been made across the valley, turning the upper part into a mill pond, and we found a mill, with the wheels, stones, &c. in fair order; some little repair to the sluice was all that would be required to put it in working condition. From the mill we followed the road, still ascending, till at the top of the plateau, about four hundred feet above the sea, we came to the large farming establishment, called Longridge, where there were sheep pens, barns, wool sheds, and presses, &c. and several detached cottages for officers, and barracks for men. The cottages were occupied by the new comers. We went into one, where we found the door open, and were glad to see it clean and tidy, and four Bibles on the table in the sitting-room, showing evidently that the occupants had been engaged in family prayer before they left home to come to our general meeting. Westward from Longridge, the road passed through cultivated land between an avenue of Norfolk Island pines for a distance of upwards of a mile; but to the

right and the left of the fields were woods composed of pine as the timber trees, with an undergrowth of lemons and guava; and as the lemons were nearly ripe, and the guava also, the colour of the fruit contrasted beautifully with the dark green of the leaves, while an occasional guava was in a fit state to be eaten, no small advantage in such a climate. We sauntered along a winding road, having a hill called Mount Pitt before us, rising conically to a height of about a thousand feet; here catching a glimpse of the sea, there looking down into a dark gully lighted up by the golden fruit of the lemon. The soil seems everywhere to be of the richest description, a mixture of decomposed basalt and lime, and the vegetation is consequently most luxuriant. On our return from our walk, we were quite ready for dinner. Mr. Nobbs and the magistrate dined with us; we had good beef and mutton, chickens, puddings, and tarts. We had to help out soup with a tea-cup instead of a soup ladle, but in other respects we did not feel the enforced absence of the 'Iris' as any great inconvenience. The 'Iris' came in on the morning of the 25th; the first lieutenant came ashore, bringing with him the chaplain, and a son of Admiral Moresby, who had visited Pitcairn's Island with his father in 1853, and was well known to the natives. We had breakfasted before these gentlemen arrived; a portion of this meal consisted of a large bowl of sea-fowl eggs, which two men had taken out of the nests on Nepean Island the day before. I made the midshipmen, as a matter of course, experiment and report upon these, and upon their testimony tried them myself, and found them very palatable. The white was semi-transparent like that of a plover's egg, the yolk had a pinkish tinge. There is a species of communism at present in existence among the islanders. The two men picked up about a thousand eggs yesterday; these were divided among the different families in certain proportions, the actual finders getting a double allowance as the reward

for their labour. I told the first lieutenant of our intention to run down to New Zealand, and suggested that he should remain ashore for the rest of the day, and take us on board in the morning. He had sent one of the midshipmen on board with directions to land all the stores we had brought from Sydney. In the meantime, as Moresby had brought a photographic apparatus on shore, I decided to get good likenesses of as many of the islanders as we could. When I sent down to let Moresby know what I wanted, he was found sauntering about with a *cortége* of a dozen or more young girls, chattering and laughing and occasionally kissing him. After a good deal of trouble we got several groups of both males and females; and here and there single photographs.

We had brought some plants from Sydney in Ward's cases; these had been landed, and I saw them put into the ground in a sort of nursery. I then inspected the windmill, which appeared to be in fair order; of course repairs would be required to the sails, &c., but the machinery was in good repair, as far as I could judge upon a hasty inspection of it. After dinner, hearing that there was to be some singing, I walked down to the school; but although the bell had been ringing for nearly an hour, I was the first person there. The people dropped in by twos and threes, and at half-past-eight they began to sing glees. Their voices were good, some very good; and the performance was very creditable, considering the slight amount of instruction they have had. I looked at the profiles of the men and women who were sitting near me, and was struck with the Malayan character of their faces: high cheekbones, noses slightly curved, short upper lips, rather turned upward; good foreheads; in fact, the profiles were good, but the full faces less attractive, owing to the width caused by the development of the cheek bones.

On the 26th we made preparations for our embarka-

tion. Young, the magistrate, brought a piece of Tappa cloth as a present from his mother and his wife, and I got from them a description of the mode of making it. The material is the inner bark of a species of mulberry; the branches or stems from which this is taken are seldom more than an inch or an inch and a half thick. The outer bark is taken off, and the inner is washed in several waters. It is then placed on a board, and beaten with a sort of square mallet grooved on the face, made of a whale's tooth, or a very hard wood; the bark of one branch is placed upon that of another, the constant beating tending to felt the fibres together; and after a sufficient quantity for the intended piece of cloth is collected, it is rolled up for four or five days, and allowed to ferment. After this it is beaten out, and folded lengthways; beaten again, and folded crossways; and this is repeated, each beating tending to widen and lengthen the cloth, till it arrives at its proper dimensions. The colour is a dirty white, and the texture irregular, but it forms a fair substitute for the produce of the weaver's loom.

We were to embark at the same place where we landed, and started to walk along the east side of the island. At one point we had to go along the edge of the cliff, and looking down on the rocks below, we saw hundreds of petrels, tern, and other birds, evidently sitting on their nests. I was very much struck at this point with the difference between the Norfolk Island pine and the hibiscus in the capacity to resist the action of the wind. The pine stood on the edge of the cliff, thrusting its branches straight out in the very teeth of the wind, utterly indifferent to the blast: by its side a good-sized hibiscus was growing, and its branches shrank backwards as if they were trying to get away from the wind; and the effect was that the trunk was absolutely flattened on the windward side, as not a branch could make its way in that direction. I measured a fine Norfolk Island pine by

which we passed, and found it to be twenty-eight feet eight inches in circumference at five feet from the ground: it was broken at top, and separated into two trunks at about twenty feet from the ground, but it was a very large tree, and carried its thickness to a great height. We passed through a garden which had been made by the convict department; bananas, coffee, citrons, oranges, guava, were growing most luxuriantly. We got down to the landing place in time to see the boat with our baggage pull off to the ship: a great many of the islanders were collected to see us off; we took a very affectionate leave of them, and pulled on board, the vessel being under way, and she made sail as soon as she had stowed her boats, the wind being such as to enable her to steer for the North Cape of New Zealand. Our run to Auckland took us nearly five days; we were standing in to the harbour on the morning of October 1, having left Norfolk Island on the afternoon of September 26; the distance being about 600 miles. Our speed was not great, but it was blowing hard from the southward of west, and we could not lay our course. I was kindly received by the Governor, Colonel Gore Browne, and managed, with his assistance, to complete all my purchases for the islanders, and get them on board early on October 3. I embarked in the afternoon, and got on board dry, luckily, for it was blowing very fresh. The 'Iris' had fifty fathoms of cable out, and as soon as the boats were stowed the men turned to at the capstan, and after some hard work got the anchor on board, and we stood away with the wind on the quarter, under double-reefed topsail and courses, the ship going more than ten knots through the water. We had to work to windward the best part of our way to Norfolk Island, for the wind very soon began to blow from the northward, and we did not get to our anchorage opposite the settlement till the morning of the 12th. There was a breeze from the westward, but so little swell that we

were able to land at the jetty. The magistrate came off in the island whale boat, bringing sundry presents for the crew, among which were 1,200 sea fowl eggs, a proportion of 7,000 which had been picked up on Nepean Island that morning. On our way to the landing place, some of our party went ashore on Nepean Island. The ground was found covered with sea fowl; as soon as the people landed, hundreds of birds rose from their nests, and wheeled about their heads screaming; there were four or five distinct species, and the ground was covered with young birds of all ages and dimensions. The island is composed altogether of coral rag, which has either been deposited in layers, or caused to assume a laminated structure by the force which has upheaved it and twisted it into all sorts of convolutions.

As we pulled in for the landing place, we saw several whales at play pretty close to the shore. They were not, however, the 'right' whale, but a kind called the 'Thrasher.' Their antics were very amusing: they would first swim quietly, keeping their tails out of the water, and giving an occasional blow; then, all of a sudden, one would raise his fins, two large pectoral fins, at least ten feet in length, till they nearly met over his back, and would bring them down upon the water with a crash which covered him with foam, and I almost fancied I could hear the blow at a distance of nearly a mile; after that he would rear himself out of the water till little but his tail remained underneath, and then throw himself backwards into the air just like a rope dancer turning a summersault backwards.

When I got on shore, Mr. Nobbs came to me and brought with him the returns of the population which I had asked him to prepare. He also handed to me the result of the debate upon the propositions laid before the people by the Bishop of New Zealand. One object which Dr. Selwyn pressed upon them was the

formation of a Government consisting of a triumvirate, one of whom was to be appointed by the Government at home, one by the Pitcairn community, and the third by the Bishop; another was the establishment of a Melanesian College. I had left with the islanders some written comments upon the Bishop's scheme, and was glad to find that a majority of the heads of families had voted against it, for it would have been unpleasant had I found myself placed at once in opposition to the majority of my subjects. The fact is, the people have lived so long together, have intermarried family with family to such an extent, that they are nearly all cousins or near relations; and they are in no way inclined to admit strangers among them; naturally enough, they are not in any way aware of their deficiencies, or of the amount they have to learn to fit them for their new position. Their apathy and indifference annoyed me at first; I thought it indicated an undue development of Tahitian blood, and I wished to bring out more of the Englishman. A little thought, however, a small amount of self-questioning, convinced me that my duty was to allow them to be happy *in their own way*. We Englishmen are too apt to insist upon the adoption of our rules and habits in everything; we make up our mind upon matters of opinion, upon matters of practice, and having satisfied ourselves (very often, I must say, after a very cursory examination) that any given system is best for *us*, we jump at once to the conclusion that it is best for every one else, and we insist upon the adoption of it by others, without any thought that they may also have opinions of their own, with which they may be unwilling to part. My business, however, was not to devise some perfect scheme of government for this small community or large family, but to give them every help in the shape of advice. I was not, therefore, disposed to press changes upon them which I might think advisable, nor did I wish

that others, whether Bishop or laymen, should deal with them according to their views. As regarded the establishment of a Melanesian College, I had heard enough of the conduct of the pupils who had been brought up from the South Sea Islands to New Zealand, to make me in no way anxious to have them introduced among the simple-minded Pitcairn Islanders.

Having ascertained the views of the people as regarded the propositions of the Bishop, I went with Mr. Nobbs and the magistrate carefully over the laws which I intended to propose to the public meeting of inhabitants. I had drawn these out on my way from New Zealand, taking care to make the code as simple and as short as possible. I based it upon the rules which had been found to suit the habits of the people at Pitcairn's Island, repealing, of course, those which had a purely local application, and inserting a few which bore upon the duties they would have to perform in their novel position at Norfolk Island. I made a few modifications in my draft at the suggestion of Mr. Nobbs and the magistrate, and I inserted a law against the introduction of wine or spirits, analogous to the Maine Liquor Law, as I found that a keg of whisky had been purchased from an American whaler, of which many had partaken so freely as to be very unwell, the captain having, for the interest of sobriety I suppose, abstracted half the whisky, and filled up the keg with sea-water. I left untouched the rule which gave the women, as well as the men, a vote in the annual election of the Chief Magistrate. I hope, however, that this experiment on a small scale, will not be assumed as a precedent in favour of the claims now made on the part of our 'better halves,' to have their say in the government of the country, for I doubt very much whether, even among the primitive people of Norfolk Island, it would be found to answer if pushed at all beyond its present limit. I should most certainly not

have proposed even this small amount of petticoat government, had I not found it already in existence.

On October 14, I called a meeting of the heads of families, at half past nine o'clock. I had sprained my leg, and could not walk down to the school; they, therefore, came to me at the Government House. I was struck, on looking round, with the individual differences of feature and expression, which, however, were quite compatible with a general resemblance. The effect produced on my mind was that they were a really good-looking people.

I pointed out to them that the Queen had given me power to make laws and regulations for them, but that I had also been directed to pay attention to their views and wishes; that in the preparation of the laws which I was about to read to them, I had been guided by those under which they had hitherto been living; that I had done away with a few which were only applicable to the state of things at Pitcairn's Island, and that I had added one or two suited to the situation in which they were then placed. I read the laws over to them one by one, commenting upon each as I went along, showing how it was either an old law differently worded, or that it was, to a certain extent, modified. I explained more particularly each of the new laws, so that I felt sure that they not only comprehended the meaning, but the motive for its introduction. When I had read these, I alluded to the paper of instructions and advice which I had given to the Chief Magistrate, and I went over the principal items. I pointed out to them that the laws which I had laid down would, in the course of a short time, require additions; that the possession of property would lead to questions as to its distribution, mode of transference, rules of succession, &c.; but that it would be quite time to deal with these in a year or two, when they were more settled. Having gone into these explanations, I asked them whether they

had any observations to make, and whether they were willing to abide by the laws they had heard read; and I found that the general feeling was in favour of their adoption. They were then decided to be the laws of the land for the present; and after giving them some advice as to the cultivation of their land, and obtaining their assent to the importation of a schoolmaster, an engineer, millwright, and smith, a mason and plasterer, a shoemaker, and a ploughman, I administered the usual oath to the magistrates, gave them their commissions, and dismissed the assembly.

I had been asked to act as godfather to a newly-born child of the family of Christian; and soon after the breaking up of this meeting, I limped slowly down to the chapel, being still in pain from my sprain, which was the result of an attempt on my part to show the midshipmen on board the 'Iris' how to skip with two people holding the rope. When a man weighs upwards of thirteen stone, he has no business to make experiments on the strength of his tendons.

The congregation met at eleven o'clock, and was a full one. The Chaplain of the 'Iris' read prayers, and Mr. Nobbs preached a very fair sermon. After the second lesson I went to the font, and named the child after my own wife, Caroline Lucy. The people sang the hymns very well. Having concluded all my business on the island, I was in readiness to leave, and was looking out for the ship, when down came the midshipman, whom I had most unwisely placed on horseback, and sent over to the cascade to tell Loring that we would embark at the settlement. He was on foot, and came to report that he had lost his way (the road being well marked and nearly straight), that he had wandered about in the bush for two or three hours, and had lost his horse. I was beginning to get angry, but luckily for the midshipman the 'Iris' made its appearance, standing in from the north-west-

ward. Two boats and the whale boat of the island took us and our baggage off to the ship, and we were glad to be on board, for the weather looked threatening.

Having now bid good-bye to the Norfolk Islanders for the present, which, by the way, I did very affectionately on the jetty, Mrs. Young giving me a kiss; I may as well give my impression of their character, which improved on acquaintance.

The opinion I formed at first of their kindness and amiability I am, on further acquaintance, quite willing to confirm, and to attribute it to something better than a mere kindliness of disposition; in fact, to the operation of religion on their hearts. Then the apathy and listlessness, which I was disposed at first to impute to a positive disinclination to work, I now believe to be the result of ignorance, and the absence of sufficient inducement to labour. Their only object now is to obtain a supply of food for themselves and their families, and when their potatoes are hoed, they feel that they have nothing more to do. I asked myself whether, if I had all that I could wish for without any effort on my part, I should work for the mere love of work; and I was obliged to reply that I should not; and this has hitherto been the case with these poor people. The gift of land in fee simple, the obligation of fencing it, the necessity of finding the means of purchasing much which they have hitherto received gratuitously, will give rise to new wants, and offer numerous motives for exertion. Mrs. Selwyn spoke highly of the intellectual qualities of the children, and I am willing to believe that, with proper training, much of that which strikes us as faulty in their character will disappear. They do not comprehend, and cannot appreciate, the motives which induce us to exertion, and we judge them by the absence of results, and condemn them for their insensibility to the inducements which to us are all powerful, but to them of no interest. In my

letter to the Secretary of State, accompanying the despatches giving the full narrative of my proceedings, I said, 'The only light in which you can look upon these people is as children, innocent from the absence of temptation, but easily led astray owing to their ignorance.'

We had a long run from Norfolk Island to Sydney, having to beat to windward the greatest part of the way. On October 23, we were within about 150 miles of Sydney Heads, and the wind which had been fresh in the night died away in the morning, and headed us, so that we were obliged to come about with the head to the north-west. In the afternoon I happened to look out of the port, and saw what at first I could hardly persuade myself was not a line of cliffs, some five hundred feet high, within half a-mile of us; it was, in fact, a bank of clouds, but so hard and sharp and well-defined, with such a small amonnt of roundness in them, that anyone might have mistaken them for cliffs, if he had not known his whereabouts. Captain Loring, when he saw them, took in all the light sails which were flapping about with the rolling of the ship, and clewed up the mainsail. We had just had our tea when a southerly gale burst upon us, but, thanks to the precautions taken, nothing was carried away; sail was gradually shortened to close reefed fore and main topsail and foresail. I passed an unpleasant night; what with the roaring of the wind, and the uneasy motion of the ship, I got but little sleep. When I went on deck in the morning, the vessel was forging slowly ahead under a close reefed main topsail, foretopmast staysail, and main trysail: the wind blowing furiously, but not much sea up, as the tops of the waves were cut off as they rose: everything was wet and uncomfortable. After breakfast I lay down on a sofa in the after cabin with a book. I had not, however, been there more than half an hour, when I was startled by a tremendous crash behind me, and before I could look round I found myself washed off the sofa, and dashed

against the lee side of the cabin, the green sea pouring in upon me through the quarter gallery port: after some struggling, I got on my legs and scrambled to the door of the after cabin. I found the cabin full of water; a sea had struck the vessel, knocked in three ports on the quarter deck and two on the main deck, had carried away the cutter, which was in the davits to leeward, and damaged the captain's gig, which was hanging astern. The first thing to be done was to get the ports replaced; while the carpenter was at work at this the men were baling the water out of my cabin, and I managed to get some dry clothes, and wrapping myself in some blankets, I lay down on my bed to get warm. I had just got comfortable, and was dropping to sleep, when crash came in the new port, and my cabin was again filled with water, and myself wet to the skin. I got some dry clothes, and went down to the ward room till the port was secured, and then had a hammock slung, where I slept with my nose pretty close to the beams. The wind blew furiously all day, but lulled a little towards evening; but there was a tremendous sea running. We wore ship in the afternoon, standing to the south-east, and on Sunday morning, the 25th, we wore ship again, and stood in for the land, sighting the coast about twelve o'clock.

I saw to-day, for the first time in my life, the formation of a water-spout. I was watching the movement of a large one, apparently some ten feet in diameter, when, all of a sudden, my attention was directed to a cloud which appeared to be sending down a sort of spiral tail towards the sea; after a little time the sea under the cloud began to show evidence of the action of some force, getting a whirling motion, and gradually rising to meet the spiral from the cloud. In a few minutes the connection was complete, and a continuous pillar extended from the sea to the cloud, the diameter of which did not seem to exceed eighteen inches. These dimensions are, of course,

mere guesses. The rest of our voyage was pleasant enough, and I landed at Sydney on the 27th October.

Soon after my return to Sydney, I began to work out my arrangements for Norfolk Island. The first thing to be done was to obtain a correct survey of the island as it existed, with all the buildings, enclosures, roads, &c., and to mark on this plan the boundaries of the different allotments. I happened to have some sappers at Sydney, and Captain Loring, who was going on a cruise about the end of May, 1858, undertook to take a couple of these men, with their instruments, baggage, &c. down to the island. I was very glad to avail myself of such an offer, so I sent down the men with full instructions for their guidance, and I wrote to the magistrate to give them every assistance in carrying out their work, as, without a proper survey, it would be very difficult to settle the inhabitants on their allotments. I had written to England for the purpose of engaging the men whom I proposed to locate in the island, and I received satisfactory information as to the character of those who would be sent out. This correspondence, the completion of the arrangement with the men previous to their departure from England, and their voyage to Sydney, absorbed the whole of 1858 and the early part of 1859. Towards the end of 1858, Mr. Nobbs availed himself of an offer of mine to arrange for the training of his son as a gardener, and in December of that year the son brought me a letter from his father, giving a very satisfactory account of the state of the colony, and of the progress of the survey. The following reply will show the nature of the suggestions which I made to the islanders, many of which, of course, bore no fruit at the time, though they may do so hereafter.

To the Rev. G. Nobbs.

Government House, Sydney, January 19, 1859.

My dear Sir,—I got your letter of December 1st, and was highly gratified at the account you gave of the general state of the colony, the conduct of the sappers, and the progress they had made in the survey of the island. I was certain that you would comprehend my motive in making each allotment abut or front upon a road, I mean such roads as are already made; for these will remain in a good state for years to come, looking to the small amount of traffic upon them. I have no objection to allow you to make what use you like of the land in the water-mill valley; you can cultivate it or not, as you please; but you must recollect that this will be a matter of private arrangement among yourselves, for unless each patch is surveyed and granted to some occupant, it will still be crown land, and may be taken up by some one, or be made part of the allotment attached to the mill. I hope to be able to pay you a visit this autumn, when I can settle this and other matters. I am sorry to hear that some among you are so restless and dissatisfied as to wish to return to Pitcairn's Island. You had better warn these of the risk they run. While Pitcairn was known to be the residence of the whole community, vessels went out of their way to visit it, and you were sure to get help from every vessel that came near you; but the case will be very different with those who separate themselves from the main body. No one will come near them but a stray whaler, and they will be left without education for their children, without the ministrations of the Church, and will in fact put themselves wilfully in the way of temptation. I cannot think that they have done so after seeking God's help in prayer, to guide their judgment.

Your son arrived quite safe. He is very tall for his age. I will willingly accept the charge of him, and I will

now tell you how I have arranged for him. He sleeps and has his meals at Government House. During the day he works in the garden, and I have promised the gardener to give him five pounds if he will make your son acquainted with all the processes of budding, grafting, &c. He goes to work at six in the morning, comes back to breakfast at half-past seven, stays till nine, when we have prayers, and is employed in the garden from half-past nine to four, except for an hour in the middle of the day. I have told the gardener not to give him hard work, but, as idleness and listlessness are rather characteristic of your people, to see that he is steadily employed always. When he is able to earn wages, I shall of course pay him for his labour, and he will then be in a position to purchase anything he may want. I propose to arrange that he should attend the mathematical class at the school of arts twice a week in the evening, so that his education will be carried on mentally as well as physically. I also propose that he should attend an evening class once a week for religious instruction under the curate of the parish of St. James, a good and earnest man.

When your boy comes back to you, I think he will be qualified to take charge of your garden; and the most profitable use which you can make of some ten or twelve acres of your land will be to plant it with oranges. You may be sure that in the course of a few years the demand for this fruit in New Zealand will increase very much, and vessels will run up to you from Auckland and elsewhere to take back a cargo of fruit. It will take some ten years or so for the oranges to produce a full crop, but at the end of that time you may reckon upon a return of thirty thousand dozen from ten acres of land. I should recommend others to follow your example, as there will be an ample demand in Victoria and Tasmania for as many as you can grow. The ground must be carefully prepared, must be trenched two feet deep, should be well manured

with animal refuse every fourth or fifth year. The stuff from the boiling down of your whale blubber will answer admirably. By the by, I hope that you will be wise enough to reserve, not only the refuse from the trypots, but the whole carcase of the whales for manure. Your land will pay you twice as well if you add this rich dressing to that which you can get from other sources. Now that you are likely to have a regular supply of oil, wool, hides, &c. it would be as well that you should make some arrangement for a vessel to come down to take it from you. You might either pay freight for it, and send it to your agent at Sydney, or sell it to the owner of the vessel; perhaps the first plan would be the best; you could then arrange with your agent to charter a vessel for the run to Norfolk Island and back, sending such things down to you as you might want. I had an idea of a general store being kept by the storekeeper at the settlement, but I have not as yet heard what the views of the Government are as to this scheme.

I have got Matthew Quintal a passage in the 'Elk,' which takes this letter, and I also send a box which came to me from England some time ago for the use of the islanders. Quintal came up from Hobart Town; he will probably be of use to you in your whaling operations. He has a good character, and will, I hope, set to work steadily on his allotments. Remember me kindly to all the inhabitants, in whom, you are aware, I take a great interest; and with every good wish for your happiness and prosperity,

Believe me, yours very truly,

W. D.

The schoolmaster, a married man, arrived early in 1859, and with him some of the mechanics whom I wished to send to Norfolk Island for the purpose of acting as instructors to the people. Some of them, however, were not willing to complete their engagements, and I did not

like the character of others; so I was in no way sorry to reduce the number. I entered into engagements with two, one of whom was a mason and plasterer; and having talked matters over with Mr. Rossiter, the storekeeper and schoolmaster, and explained my views as clearly as I could to a man who was going to occupy a somewhat anomalous position, I shipped the party off in a schooner, promising to follow them as soon as possible. This I was able to do on June 16, 1859, as Captain Vernon gave me a passage on board H. M. steamer 'Cordelia.' We were outside Sydney Heads by three o'clock on the 18th, but we did not make the island till the morning of the 24th. We were able to land at the settlement, but found that most of the inhabitants had gone over to the other side of the island to look after the shipment of 'their oil' on board the schooner which had brought Mr. Rossiter and the mechanics.

The term 'their oil' requires some explanation. Last year a few men, joining their small capital, had purchased from an American whaler, which, being full, was about to return home, boats and gear, and had gone to work energetically at 'bay whaling,' that is, they attacked such whales as came near the land, which, during certain seasons, it is their habit to do. They had been very successful, having got upwards of ten tons of oil; this is the oil they were engaged in shipping. This successful commencement of enterprise had stimulated the community into exertion. A company was formed, to which each family had contributed a share, or a portion of a share, and with the proceeds they had purchased more boats and gear, and were looking forward to commence the season with four boats fully equipped. Mr. Nobbs told me that the men were most active and daring in the boats; they all partake so much of their South Sea nature as to swim like fish. I did not wish to say anything to damp their anticipations of success, or I might have told them

that the very success of the last year would diminish the returns of the present; that whales would not frequent shores where they were chased and tormented. I thought it better to leave them to arrive at this by their own experience. I have always found that *one* failure is more instructive than a dozen successes, and than any amount of teaching. The result of success is so satisfactory that few trouble themselves to investigate the causes which led to it; and the memory lets slip the teaching, unless this be so specially interesting as to attract notice; while the failure is sure to set the mind of the most indifferent to work.

My time on the island was spent in arranging a variety of details, and settling disputes between individuals as to rights of property in land or houses. I found that a spirit of speculation had entered into the minds of several, and that the most fanciful bargains had been made. One man had sold land in Pitcairn's Island, which of course did not in any way belong to him, to his aunt, who had gone back there, and who gave him in exchange the house she had been permitted to occupy, but to which her departure had vacated even the small shadow of a claim created by occupancy; another, who had gone back to Pitcairn, had sold his chance of an allotment on Norfolk Island for four pounds. A variety of these traffickings were brought before me, and I had to explain to the bargainers their real position, and to work into harmony a mass of conflicting interests. This I managed to do without causing much dissatisfaction; the articles exchanged were of such slight real, or even nominal, value, that a system of give and take soon terminated all questions as regarded occupation; more especially as I contented myself generally with a recommendation to the parties, after I had explained their position to them, to go away and settle the matter among themselves. I had a more awkward business to arrange with Mr. Nobbs and the magistrate. They, it appeared,

had, upon the application of some of the people, engaged with the master of a schooner to take thirty passengers back to Pitcairn at the rate of 10*l.* per head. When, however, these were asked to go on board, their hearts failed them; the idea of separation from their relations and friends overpowered them; they began to cry, and eventually refused to leave the island. The captain claimed compensation for a loss of time, demurrage, and what not, and he imposed upon the simplicity of Nobbs and Young, inducing them, in default of money, to give him a bill upon a merchant in Sydney for 300*l.*!! this being the full amount which he was to have received, had he landed the people at Pitcairn.

I pointed out to the two that they had no right to draw bills of the kind; that even supposing them to have the power to draw upon the funds of the community, they had in this case expended it in a way which would have proved most injurious to it. I then subjected them to a close cross-examination, in order to elicit all the facts which would enable me to deal with the case when the bill was presented for payment, and I found that in reality they had been weaker than I supposed; for the delay had been nothing, and the labour in preparing berths, &c. had been done by the people themselves, who had actually taken the material on board, with which the captain had sailed away. The bill, I may remark, was presented some time after my return to Sydney, and was at once dishonoured.

Having settled these and a variety of other petty matters, I had to consider questions arising out of the peculiar position of the people, and their wish to remain as much as possible isolated; to define the rules of succession to property; and to scheme out such a simple system of registering all dealings in land, of forms for transfer, for mortgage, &c. as would be easily comprehended, and applied without the interference of anyone but

the registrar. In this I was very much aided by having before me a scheme sketched out by the Registrar of New Zealand, the principle of which I adopted. Starting, as I did, *ab initio*, the Government grant being the only title in existence, nothing was simpler than to arrange for the registration of all dealings in land, and to provide forms for the record of such dealings; but to secure the isolation of the community was a more difficult matter, for it involved the resignation of the right of each individual to do as he liked with his own. However, it was in some measure provided for by giving to the community a right of pre-emption, should any man wish to dispose of his property.

I had a long conversation with Mr. Rossiter respecting his position as schoolmaster and as storekeeper. I was able to give him pretty definite instructions as to his duties in the latter capacity, but I was obliged to trust a good deal to his good sense and discretion in regard to the former. I could only speak generally of the character of the instruction to be given, and of the mode of giving it; recommending him to keep on the best possible terms with the different families, and particularly with Mr. Nobbs, who might, perhaps, feel a little sore at having the charge of the education of the children taken out of his hands.

On the 29th the weather looked so threatening that I decided to finish my work and embark, for, should a gale occur, I might be detained a week or ten days before the 'Cordelia' could work up to the island again. I therefore took copies of all that I was about to leave on record; and then went down, at twelve o'clock, to a general meeting of the inhabitants. I first gave a severe reprimand to those who were contemplating a return to Pitcairn, pointing out to them that they were, in so doing, losing sight of their duty to their children, and looking solely to themselves. I warned them that I should attach a

condition to the issue of grants of land which would prevent any sale or alienation of them for a couple of years. I then explained to the meeting all that I proposed to do. I read the instructions to the storekeeper, the directions as to meteorological observations, and the arrangements for the school. I then explained, as well as I could, the memorandum I had drawn up for the registration of titles, rules of transfer of property, &c.; and put it to the people whether I should act upon this, and have a law drawn up in accordance with the principles therein stated? This was acceded to, and carried into effect as soon as I got back to Sydney. I then gave the storekeeper instructions to pay Mr. Nobbs 50*l.* per annum in four equal quarterly payments, and having completed all my business, and consoled two asthmatic old ladies by giving to each a couple of bottles of brandy, I took an affectionate farewell of the whole community, and pulled off to the 'Cordelia,' which was lying at anchor about a couple of miles from the settlement. It was blowing hard, and we had some difficulty in getting on board, as both wind and tide were against us. However, we managed this after a heavy pull; and having lifted the screw and weighed anchor, we started at the rate of eleven knots, with two reefs in the topsails and topgallant sails. The breeze did not last more than three hours, and we had baffling winds afterwards, so that we did not get to Sydney till July 8.

I can say nothing very definite as to the success of the experiment with the Pitcairn Islanders. I have had letters from various persons, each complaining of some particular grievance, but I have generally ascertained that these neutralised each other, A. complaining of B. and B. of A. I have heard also that some of the inhabitants have succumbed to the temptations to which they have been subjected under their altered condition, but this was no more than might have been expected. No

possible training can eradicate from man the hereditary taint of his race; but I believe, or I may rather say, I know, that the community on Norfolk Island exhibits less evidence of this than any other with which I have ever been thrown in connection; and I hope that crimes of any magnitude are as yet unknown in this little dot of an island in the midst of the Pacific.

CHAPTER XIII.

SUPPLY OF HORSES FOR INDIA—TRIP TO THE BLUE MOUNTAINS—VALLEY OF THE HAWKESBURY—WINDSOR—WATERFALLS—GOVETT'S LEAP—CHINESE IMMIGRANTS—QUAINT EPITAPHS—APPLICATION FROM LORD CANNING FOR TROOPS FOR INDIA—OPENING OF RAILWAY TO CAMPBELLTOWN—TRIBE OF HAIRLESS ABORIGINES—SEPARATION OF COLONIES FROM THE MOTHER COUNTRY—FEELING OF THE COLONISTS OF NEW SOUTH WALES—LECTURE ON CHURCH SYSTEM—CORRESPONDENCE WITH FATHER THERRY—EMIGRATION TO NEW CALEDONIA—GEOLOGICAL FORMATION OF EAST AND WEST COASTS—ELECTORAL SYSTEM—JOURNEY TO WOLLONGONG—COAL MINE AT BELLAMBI—PARASITE FIGS—JOURNEY TO KIAMA AND SHOALHAVEN—BLOW-HOLE—RUSH TO A NEW GOLD FIELD—LIGNITE IN NEW ZEALAND.

To Sir Roderick Murchison.

Sydney, November 6, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR RODERICK,—Many thanks for the copy of your address to the Geographical Society, and for the hint given to the Secretary. 'Out of sight, out of mind,' is a proverb of general application, and unless secretaries are reminded of one's existence, they are apt to bury one without asking questions. I send you some more photographs of the fossil skull of the Zygomaturus, which we have lately obtained, with a description by Dr. Macdonald of the 'Herald,' more technically correct, I imagine, than that which I furnished in my last. I have just returned from Norfolk Island, where I have been looking after the importation of Pitcairn Islanders. I will not bother you with any account of them, as I have sent an abstract of my journal to the Secretary of State, which will, I dare say, be published with the other papers connected with the transfer of these people. I may just say that they are simple, kind-hearted, and affectionate, without any of the

vices of civilisation *as yet.* They are, however, ignorant, and, from their very kindness of heart and simplicity, very easily led: they have not the means of testing the correctness of statements made, or of advice given. I should like to strengthen their intellects without damaging their primitive simplicity; but this, I suppose, is an impossibility; the tree of knowledge produces both good and evil fruit. Norfolk Island, as Captain Denham has shown me, is one of a group of three islands, elevated upon a plateau upon which the depth of water is pretty uniformly twenty-eight fathoms. The bank or plateau is about thirty miles long and twelve miles broad, and the main island rises from this to a height of about 1,100 feet. This, or Norfolk Island, is composed of a basaltic rock easily decomposed; while the smallest of the islands, which is not more than fifty feet above the sea, and rises out of about nine fathoms of water, is composed of a sort of coral rag, that is, of thin layers of indurated coralline sand, curiously twisted and contorted by the force which has uplifted them. I went down from Norfolk Island to Auckland, on the east coast of New Zealand. The town stands in the midst of a series of small conical hills, said to be the crater of extinct volcanoes; I had not, however, time to visit any of them. The aspect of the east coast of New Zealand, as low as Auckland, is bare and poverty-stricken; about Auckland, however, the soil seems to be good; the farms were in good order, fences and buildings well kept. There is not much country in rear to maintain the town, so that Auckland will never rise to much importance. I think the experiment of the 'Federal system,' which has been tried in New Zealand, is a most complete failure.

Yours very truly,

W. D.

To Colonel Harness, R.E.

Government House, Sydney, January 12, 1858.

My dear Harness,—As I have a few minutes to spare, I will send you my congratulations by return of post. You have much to do, I suppose. I cannot think that the Government at home will let slip this opportunity of reorganising the Indian establishment, and heads like yours would be most useful in such work. There is evidently much to be done; but how? I will not commit myself to an opinion upon a subject with which I have but a slight acquaintance. Upon one matter, however, which has been brought specially under my notice, I may speak to you, and that is, the supply of horses for the cavalry and artillery. I was told by Colonel R——, who was sent down to purchase horses, that the haras, or breeding establishments in India, could not turn out horses at less than 1,000 Rupees, or 100*l.* each. This, looking to the price of labour in India, struck me as enormous; and must indicate mismanagement. But if the cost be so great, if it be impossible to breed horses at a lower rate, it would be evidently desirable that an establishment should be formed here, from whence any number of horses could, in the course of a few years, be furnished; but in creating such an establishment, it should be borne in mind that, in order to work it properly, the demand should be regular. The simplest mode would be to estimate the wear and tear of cavalry and artillery horses, say either at so much per cent., or so many hundreds or thousands per annum, and to provide for the purchase of that number regularly. You would then find that the owners of horse-stock, looking to this as a regular demand, would breed for the Indian market. The competition among them would increase, and the price of horses would gradually decline; whereas, if the Government comes in, as it has done just now, for an immediate supply of twelve

or fourteen hundred horses, the tendency is, of course, to run up the price; and a horse which, under ordinary circumstances, could be purchased for 20*l.* would fetch 30*l.* or 40*l.* I have no hesitation in expressing an opinion that horses might be bought as four year olds, fit for Indian work, at from 20*l.* to 25*l.* I do not mean now, but in the course of a year or so, if a regular establishment were formed: the freight, too, might be reduced in the proper season to from 20*l.* to 25*l.* and I should say that horses might be landed in Calcutta, including all charges, at from 60*l.* to 65*l.* My own idea is, that the Government ought to be able to breed horses in India for half this sum. I am by no means certain that it would not be as well to attach a breeding establishment to every cavalry regiment: there are certain cavalry quarters, and a small establishment under the charge of the officer in command, would supply annually the wear and tear of a single regiment. This would be a cheaper plan than by extensive breeding establishments, for the care of which a large and expensive staff would be required. I am, however, now doing what I declaimed against, in the first part of my letter; I am discussing a subject without having sufficient information.

Write to me regularly if you can, and let me know what your position is. I shall watch with great interest the turn that affairs take in India.

Believe me, yours very truly,

W. DENISON.

To Mrs. Denison.

Windsor, March 4, 1858.

My dearest Mother,—I am sitting with my two girls, on a very hot evening, in the best inn, though that is a bad one, of the town of Windsor, a village, as it would be called in England, inhabited by about 1,600 people. I had long promised the girls that they should accompany

me on my next trip, and having about a fortnight to spare before the meeting of the Legislature, I started yesterday from Sydney, and came on here after a ride of about twenty miles.

Windsor is situated on the bank of the Hawkesbury, not very many feet above the flood level; it has more than once been turned into an island, and you may imagine from this that it looks over an extensive level valley; this, during flood time, resembles a sea. It is at least four miles wide, and many more long. The first view of the valley was very striking, for the whole width and length of it bursts upon one at once, and the west side is closed in by the range of the Blue Mountains, which, though not actually above 4,000 feet high, have a lofty effect, as they appear to rise abruptly from the level plain. To-day, the girls, being tired, amused themselves as best they could, sketching the line of mountains from the town, while I rode round the valley, paying visits to several of the people. To-morrow we ride about twenty-five miles to the house of a Mr. Cox, where we stay for a couple of days, after which we plunge into the recesses of the Blue Mountains for the purpose of visiting two waterfalls. These, I am afraid, will have very little water in them; but the scenery about them is very fine.

March 21.—We went, as I have said, on the 5th to Mr. Cox's house at Fern Hill, and there we stayed for two days. Mr. Cox gave us some very good wine of his own manufacture. We started on the following Monday, and rode up Lapstone Hill, the ascent of the Blue Mountains, and slept at an indifferent inn, after having ridden about twenty-six miles. The next day we set out early, rode to the Weatherboard Inn, and having there got rid of the girls' habits, and packed up a bottle of claret, and some two or three of soda water, with some sandwiches, we walked off towards the falls. The path

led through boggy ground; the weather was very hot, and the distance about two miles; so you may imagine that when we got to the falls, we were more ready to find a shady place and to get something to drink, than to do what we had intended, and that was to poke about to find a good point of view to sketch the falls.

M—— made a very fair sketch of the upper part of the fall, but it is impossible to give an idea in outline only of the effect of looking down into a valley from 500 to 1,000 feet below you.

The next morning we rode on to an inn called Blackheath, the road running on a sort of saddle between two deep gorges or crevices in the coal strata, the drainage from this saddle forming falls to the right or the left whenever there is a body of water sufficient to form a rivulet. These crevices are upwards of a thousand feet deep, and have vertical sides four or five hundred feet in height. We stopped to lunch at the inn at Blackheath before starting for the other fall, 'Govett's Leap,' so called, I believe, from a convict who is said to have jumped over it. After luncheon we set out, the weather looking rather ominous, and before we got half way, down came a thunderstorm with hail and rain; and we had to shelter ourselves under the trunk of a fallen tree. I wish I could give you a sketch of our position, cowering beneath a huge log. We were tolerably sheltered from the rain, but in a little time we found that we had placed ourselves in a water-course, and we were fairly washed out from our shelter and compelled to walk home in the midst of the storm, getting wet to the skin. The next morning, though there was a drizzling rain, we rode down to the falls. We could not see them to advantage, as the valley was shadowed in mist, but we caught wonderful glimpses of the outline of the valley, and of distant hills when the wind occasionally swept away the mist. The next day we rode in to Penrith, about twenty miles, and on Satur-

day we got home, much to my pleasure. We met on our last day's journey from Penrith nearly three hundred Chinese. These people are flocking into the country by thousands. They are the English of the East; wherever there is an opening for industry, wherever a prospect of gain, there does John Chinaman resort. When we met this detachment, the main body had camped for breakfast. They had each unpacked the baskets swung at the end of a long bamboo, under the load of which they moved at a steady trot, and had taken out tea-cups and plates made of earthenware, not tin pannikins such as Englishmen would have used, and were sitting down to a comfortable breakfast, with an appearance of order and method, which indicated the presence of a chief having some authority; and I believe that they have a sort of mandarin or magistrate over them, but how appointed I know not.

Below are two epitaphs which the girls copied in the churchyard at Windsor. The first runs thus:—

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF

JOHN CUPITT,

DIED, AGED 38 *YEARS.*

Weep not for me, my babies dear,
I am not dead, but sleeping here.
It was God's will for us to part
And left my dear wife with an *aking* heart.
He was a father dear and a husband kind,
Till wretched drink distressed his mind,
Left me in grief for to regret
While I am on earth, you I never can forget.
View this stone, my brothers dear,
And think of me, and shed a tear:
I was cut off in all my bloom,
And left my dear friends to regret my doom.

The only possible way of making head or tail of this is, to suppose the dead husband speaking first, then his living wife, and then he again. Even with that explanation,

it is not too clear, especially as there were no stops, and the capital letters were in all sorts of wrong places. Here is another, which seems to belong to the same family. It is very short, which is its great merit:—

JAMES CUPITT,

DIED AUGUST 1852, *AGED* 13.

Oh, you youth, take warning by me,
Being too *venttersome* was the death of me.

Your affectionate Son,
W. D.

To the Right Honourable H. Labouchere.

Sydney, April 5, 1858.

My dear Sir,—I got by the last mail your despatch containing instructions to send the 77th Regiment to China, and proceeded at once to make arrangements for the reduction of our military establishment, so as to bring it within the competence of the reduced force which the General would be able to appropriate to this colony. Two days ago, however, the 'Megæra' came in from India, bringing me a despatch from the Governor-General, dated January 30, requesting me to forward by that vessel, and by other transports, such troops as I might be able to spare, and specifying particularly the 77th, or a regiment of infantry, and a company of artillery.

Lord Canning's private letter to me was a commentary on the despatch, and gave me detailed explanations of the difficulty in which the Government of India was placed from the want of troops. Under these circumstances, I have thought myself justified in advising the General to alter the destination of the 77th Regiment from Hong Kong to Calcutta, and I have also placed the company of artillery stationed at Sydney at his disposal. I propose to appeal to the Legislature to provide the necessary number of horses for the battery, together with the harness,

which, Lord Canning says, is not to be got in Calcutta; and before I send this letter I shall, I hope, be able to give you an account of the success of my application. I propose also to confer with the General, for the purpose of seeing whether, in case of necessity, another regiment might not be sent on to India. I trust that you will not think that I have exercised undue influence over General Macarthur as regards the change of destination of the 77th Regiment; but I felt justified in acting as I have done by the tone of Lord Canning's letter.

I cannot give you any information of a definite character as to the prospects of my present Ministry. The Legislature met on the 23rd; I read my speech on the 24th, which elicited no debate, though it touched upon several subjects of a very debateable character. The struggle will probably take place on the new electoral bill, which, professing to base itself upon population, will, give, if it be carried, a marked preponderance to the representation of the towns.

I have had to resist an attempt to swamp the Upper House, by an addition of fifteen, or about 30 per cent. to the number of members. Mr. Cowper proposed it to me on the ground, first, of the difficulty of procuring a quorum, and second (which ought to have come first) of the opposition experienced by the Government. I made no objection to the introduction of members sufficient to fill up the vacancies caused by death or resignation; but I objected altogether to the principle of putting in members for the purpose of giving the Ministry of the day a majority. He was at first disposed to insist, but seeing that I was in earnest in my opposition, he contented himself with filling up vacancies to restore the House to its original number of forty-five; and I consented to the introduction of two others on special grounds.

Yours very truly,

W. D.

To Earl Canning.

April 5, 1858.

My dear Lord,—The 'Megæra' came in on the 3rd, bringing your public and private letters to me on the subject of the reinforcements required in India. You will see by the letter I wrote to you by the last mail, the steps which I have taken in anticipation of your wants: the only modifications I shall now make in the expressions contained in that letter are that I shall express a doubt as to the *two* regiments which I then said we might spare. I have, however, written to General Macarthur and to Sir Henry Barkly on the subject, and will strive to make such arrangements as may enable the General to send the 40th forward to India, should your necessities require such a reinforcement. The 'Megæra' will sail with the 77th as soon as the necessary arrangements can be completed; transports will follow with the company of artillery; horses and harness sufficient to enable you to bring the battery into action immediately on landing will be sent in the transports; these latter, horses and harness, I mean, will, I hope, be made a present to you by the Government of New South Wales. The Legislature is now sitting, and as both Houses, in the reply to my opening speech, expressed themselves as ready to assist you in any way, I have little doubt but that they will agree to pay for the horses. I felt sure, when I first brought the subject of sending troops to India under the consideration of the General, that although the Sepoys, as a body, would never stand before English troops, yet such a thorough disruption of all the ties connecting the two nations could hardly be got over in a few months. The wound is too severe to admit of healing, as the surgeons say, by the first intention; it will fester and gangrene, and will require caustic and the actual cautery before emollients can be used with safety; and you will require to have such a force at

your disposal as will enable you to master your patient, whatever his struggles may be. This force must be principally composed of British troops, and of these, looking to the necessities of other parts of the Empire, you have probably as many as can be spared. Might it not be possible to exchange native regiments with English in colonies where the temperature would be warm enough for the Sepoy, such as the Mauritius and the Cape? It would not answer, of course, to allow the Sepoys to be the *only* force in the colony, but they might, if *properly officered*, form by far the largest proportion of the force either here or at the Cape or the Mauritius. Might it not be as well to take advantage of the peculiar state of destitution of the Kafir tribes, and to enroll a dozen regiments of men physically far superior to the natives of India, whose sympathies, though not perhaps with the English, would never be enlisted on behalf of the Hindoo or Mahometan? A large army you must have; the backbone of this must, of course, be English, but the limbs, the working members, may be recruited from many nations, the more numerous the divisions the better; no one element should be strong enough to contend with the British portion of the body. I suppose you could not hold India without an effective force of 150,000 men: of these 60,000 might be British, 10,000 Africans, and the remaining 80,000 might be Hindoos, Sikhs, Ghoorkas, &c. I feel, however, that I am trespassing upon your time in thrusting the opinions of an irresponsible man upon you, so I will now refer to the closing paragraph of your letter, where you ask me to give an opinion as to the advantages or disadvantages of a depôt in Australia for the purchase of horses for the Indian service, and the best locality for it. The simplest and cheapest system would be the employment of a single officer to inspect and select horses: he might be empowered to rent ground in the vicinity of Sydney where the horses, when purchased, might be kept until a vessel could be

chartered for their conveyance to India. This officer would not require an expensive staff; he would purchase the horses about the time of year when the passage by Torres Straits is open, and when freight is easily procurable. The average price would not exceed 25*l.* per horse; but this would depend, of course, upon the number required: if from 1,500 to 2,000 were wanted, the price would rise for a year or two, but in the course of a few years, if the demand was regular and constant, the settlers would breed up to it, and I have no doubt that the price per horse would not exceed 20*l.*

Believe me, yours very truly,

W. D.

To Earl Canning.

Sydney, April, 1858.

My dear Lord,—I enclose herewith the address of the Legislative Assembly on the subject of the departure of the company of Artillery, and my reply. I find that this sharp answer has given great offence; that is, the Assembly feels annoyed at being told the truth, and is prepared to evince its willingness to afford assistance by voting money, by sending men, &c. If, then, you wish to have a battery, fully horsed and equipped, pray let me know in a despatch which I can lay before the Assembly, and I think I might guarantee that the application would be successful. My only reason for acceding to the request of the Assembly, and detaining the artillery, was the fact that the company having been sent out on the application of this Government, and the cost of its passage to the colony, as well as its maintenance here, having been defrayed from the Colonial Treasury, it had, to a certain extent, the appearance of a local corps. I shall write, however, to the Secretary of State, pointing out the inconveniences which must attach to these paltry attempts to save a few hundreds, as removing the military employed in the colonies from the control of the Secretary for War and the

Commander-in-Chief. I trust that the 'Megæra' will have a good passage, and that the reinforcement will be of use to you. I am afraid that I cannot venture to hope that its services will not be required.

Believe me, yours very truly,

W. D.

To Sir Roderick Murchison.

Sydney, May 3, 1858.

My dear Sir Roderick,—I am very glad to hear that the photographs of the 'Diprotodon' and his friend have been appreciated; we have since forwarded casts of all the remains of these animals.

The Norfolk Island experiment will be a curious one. From the peculiar position of the island, many of the disturbing influences which act upon society generally will be kept at a distance, or at all events be so diluted and modified as to produce less injurious effects; but then we shall lack the stimulus to activity of mind and body which competition gives, and we have to work with an indifferent national tool: the Tahitian element prevails to too large an extent.

I have read the account of the Australian dinner. I quite agree with you in the opinion that allusion should not be made to 'separation' as a matter either of necessity or even probability; but the political economists, now that the old colonial theory has been exploded, seem to think that colonies are useless encumbrances. I consider this to be a false and a mischievous theory. I believe that, independent of the moral effect produced on the world at large by the extension of our colonial empire, there are direct tangible benefits arising out of the relation between colonies and the mother country common to both parties: the benefit is not one-sided, it does not appertain to the colony only. For instance: the colony is dragged into a state of warfare with all the enemies of the mother country; its trade is injured, it incurs loss: on the other hand,

it is protected against oppression and insult by its connection;—there is a positive benefit. The mother country, in time of war, has, in every part of the world, friendly ports to retire to, or draw stores from, instead of having either open enemies or jealous neutrals to deal with;—there is its advantage, and a great one. It has to stand up for its children should they quarrel with their neighbours;—this is the disadvantage; but it is, practically, a very trifling one.

The rainy weather last year tempted a tribe or family of natives from the west side of the continent to push eastward. They came across in nine months, and are said to be without *any hair*: the Commissioner of Crown Lands, who saw one of them, reported him to be absolutely without hair. It is said to be a practice with the natives, when the vermin get troublesome, to singe themselves, but the Commissioner was cognisant of this practice, and affirmed that the man had not been singed, but had merely a little down instead of hair. I had a letter some time ago from an American, asking me to furnish him with specimens of the hair, or, as he termed it, the 'Pile,' of the different tribes of natives, as he was working out a theory as to the action of race upon the character of the hair. How would he class those who had no hair? among the pachydermata? Yours very truly,

W. D.

To Lord Stanley.

Sydney, July 9, 1858.

My dear Lord,—I send by the present mail a reply to your confidential despatch on the subject of the appointment of a Lieutenant-Governor. Some of my present Ministers are in favour of the appointment of a colonist, but most of those whom I have consulted object to this, and even those who express themselves as favourable to such an appointment can only name two persons whom they consider fitted for it, of whom one is ineligible as being a member of the Legislature, and the other as being absent from the colony.

Some time ago I asked Mr. Labouchere to give me an idea of the Colonial policy of the Government: I mean their feeling in respect to the question of the separation of the colonies from the mother country. I myself am decidedly opposed to the adoption of any measure which would tend to promote separation. I am convinced that it would be most injurious both to the colonies and the mother country; but I cannot help thinking that there is a tendency towards the disruption of the link which binds the two together among politicians in England, especially among the so called political economists who measure everything by a money standard, with whom profit is everything, and moral ties mere pack-thread. I am convinced that in this colony there is a strong feeling against separation, not merely on account of the loss it might occasion, but because it would break through old habits, and ignore that feeling which prompts everyone to say, when he is going to England, that he is going *home*.

I have the honour to be, your Lordship's most obedient servant, W. D.

About the end of June this year I gave a lecture to the Young Men's Christian Association. A few days after this lecture was delivered, I received a letter from Father Therry, a Roman Catholic priest, a zealous and kind-hearted man, who took me to task for having dealt unfairly by the Roman Catholic Church. My reply here given will show that I did not plead guilty to this charge, and that my wish was to induce all to join together to promote harmony and kindly feeling towards each other.

To the Rev. Mr. Therry.

Government House, July 12, 1858.

My dear Father Therry,—I am sorry that there is anything in my lecture to which you object. I really think that, on reading it a second time, you will perceive that the Church of Rome only came in for her share of the blame

which, in my opinion, attaches to every section of the Christian Church, of having fallen far short in her *practice* of the example set it by the early Church. You yourself, whatever you may allege of the doctrine of the Church of Rome (of which, by the way, I have said nothing in my lecture) will hardly maintain that the different congregations, either in this colony or elsewhere, exhibit in their conduct any similarity to the picture which I have drawn of the early Church.

I return you the 'Sixty Reasons in Favour of the old Religion.' The only part I cordially approve of is the Hymn for Children on the cover: this breathes a truly catholic and loving spirit, a spirit which it is my earnest wish and prayer should animate us all in our relation to God and our brethren. Thinking thus, I will not enter upon the matters in dispute between our Churches, but will pray you to believe that my faith is founded upon conviction, and that it is my earnest hope that we may neither of us be found wanting in the great day when we shall be called upon to appear before God; till when, I trust you will allow me to consider myself your sincere friend,

W. DENISON.

To Lord Stanley.

Sydney, August 10, 1858.

My dear Lord,—The French corvette, 'La Thisbée,' has been lying in Sydney Harbour for some time, but left yesterday for New Caledonia. The captain, who is also Governor of the island, has been applied to by many people here for grants of land. The terms upon which these are conceded are very tempting. A slight deposit is paid by the applicant, who enters upon the land with an obligation to perform certain work within a given time, that is, either to clear a portion of the land, or introduce so much labour. When these conditions are fulfilled, the

deposit is returned, and the grant deed is issued to him. One firm here has got a grant of 80,000 acres, on condition of introducing a thousand immigrants, of whom only one third are to be Europeans. I hear a good report of the quality of the land, but an indifferent one of the climate. The presence of a body of English settlers would make it easy to take possession of the island, should war break out between England and France.

I am, &c.

W. D.

To Captain Clarke, R.E., Surveyor General of Victoria.

Sydney, July 24, 1858.

My dear Clarke,—I wish you would get me some of the details of the work done by your surveyors, so as to enable me to form an opinion as to the mode in which you manage so that your survey only costs you thirteen pence per acre. With me the district surveyors' work averages twenty-three pence per acre, but this includes some township allotments of course.

I am going up on Monday to open the extension of the Northern Railway to Maitland. I am glad to be able to aid in these demonstrations, for they lead people to attach importance to railways, which are now gradually working their way into the estimation of the public. I should not be surprised were an energetic attempt made to push the scheme forward, as I originally proposed, to the extent altogether of eight hundred miles; viz.—to Bathurst, Armidale, and Albury. I think it probable that we shall accept Peto's offer to construct our railways for us, on a schedule of prices. There is a great advantage in interesting a large English firm in undertakings of this kind: it imports brains as well as men; intellect as well as sinews. The men employed by such a firm are examples of energy and activity, and as they generally remain in the colony, we get a little leaven which, in

time, leavens the whole lump. Let me have any papers descriptive of the constitution of your scientific board, and the objects to which it turns its attention. I am going into the question of the defence of the colonies, which has been brought before me by a despatch from Sir Henry Young to the Secretary of State on the subject of making Australia an Admiral's station. I see no reason to alter my views as to the propriety of adopting a plan, or rather a principle, analogous to that which regulates our postal arrangements; namely, that the mother country and the colony should contribute in equal proportions; the colony paying for the erection and maintenance of forts, barracks, &c.; the mother country building and maintaining any vessel or vessels required for *local* defences, such as gunboats, &c. The colony would thus furnish half of the pay and allowances of soldiers and sailors. I am going into this again in reply to a despatch from Lord Stanley, in answer to one from me in August 1856. Good-bye. Do not forget to write to me pretty regularly.

Yours very truly,
W. D.

To Sir Roderick Murchison.

Sydney, September 4, 1858.

My dear Sir Roderick,—I wish you would put me in the way of getting a good collection of the characteristic fossils of the various English strata. We are sadly in want of something of the kind for purposes of comparison, as we are altogether dependent, at present, upon the geological information in possession of one or two individuals; and I am anxious to give to those who are inclined to take up the study the means of making comparisons for themselves between the Australian fossils, and those of other countries. The 'Herald,' surveying ship, has just returned from the west coast (Shark's Bay). The surgeon tells me

that the rocks which line the coast, and which rise to the height of some 300 or 400 feet, afford distinct evidence of upheaval within a period not far distant from the present, as the shells which are contained in these rocks are of the same genera and *species* as those now existing in the sea at their foot. We have nothing like this on the east side of Australia; the whole of the coast-line from Twofold Bay to the entrance of Moreton Bay belongs to the carboniferous system, which extends sixty miles, or thereabouts, inland, having a general dip (I believe) to the south-east. The ground on the coast is being upheaved, and I should like to see a set of observations carried out for the purpose of deciding the fact of the upheaval and the rate; it is of importance that we at Sydney should know this, for a very trifling lift would shut us out from the sea, by raising the Sow and Pigs shoal at the entrance of the harbour. We have only twenty-four feet at low water in the channels to the right and left of this shoal.

Yours very truly,
W. DENISON.

To the Right Honourable Sir E. Lytton Bulwer.

Sydney, September 8, 1858.

Dear Sir,—I have been in the habit of corresponding privately with your predecessors, and I trust that you will allow me to continue the practice.

The 'Iris' has just returned to port from a trip to Woodlark Island, the scene of the murder of the crew of a vessel wrecked there some time ago; on her way she called at Tanna, one of the New Hebrides, to revenge the death of the captain and two of the crew of a colonial trader, who were murdered by the natives towards the latter end of last year. The question as to the course to be adopted in dealing with the savages on these islands is a very difficult one. You have, on the one hand, the merchants who trade with them claiming protection; you

have, on the other, the philanthropists objecting to the employment of the only means by which a savage can be taught to respect the persons and property of others. The French act very summarily; they sweep away the inhabitants with grape and canister, and induce a wholesome fear on the part of the natives, which lasts a long time, but which of course alienates the people. A French captain said to me the other day with reference to the state of New Caledonia, 'Oh, nous sommes tous tranquilles à présent, nous avons brûlé quatorze villages.' We, on the other hand, are apt to do things by halves; to treat a disease with emollients when the actual cautery is necessary. During the last war with Russia, a French captain talking over the operations said, 'On ne peut pas faire la guerre et faire la philanthropie en même temps; une fois en guerre il faut bombarder, incendier;—c'est barbare, mais. . .' and I am disposed to agree with him. Peace is a good thing, and war a bad one; but a compound of the two is worse than either.

In a despatch upon the subject of the separation of Moreton Bay, I suggested certain modifications of the constitution to be given to the new colony, such as my experience of the working of the present system suggested. I allude specially to the constitution of the Upper Chamber, which is here nominated by the Government, that is, by the Minister for the time being. I am of opinion that the Upper House should be elective, in order to remove all grounds for complaints, and for proposals of a change of constitution; but I also think that it ought to have every possible weight and importance given to it. The only mode in which this can be done appears to me to be by making the whole colony one electoral district for the Council or Upper House, and by giving each elector only one vote, whatever may be the number of members. I am strongly in favour of adopting this principle in the election of members for the Lower House also, and should

the Government have to bring in a bill for the separation of Moreton Bay, I should be glad to see such an experiment instituted. Should it work well, it will be a precedent for these colonies to follow in future legislation on the subject of electoral divisions; should it fail, it can do no harm, and can be remedied at any time. I will not pretend to discuss the advantages of such a scheme; all that I wish to point out is that there is an opportunity of making a political experiment, and as these colonies have been allowed (not very wisely, I think) the utmost liberty in making such experiments, it is but fair that when an opportunity occurs, the Home Government should be enabled to make one on its own account.

Believe me, yours very truly,

W. D.

Extracts from Journal.

Sydney, September 15, 1858.

My dear ——,—We are resuming the plans for our long-anticipated visit to Wollongong, feeling certain that a little change will be good for everyone. Our present idea is, if all be well, to go down on Monday next, some by land, to whom it will be a whole day's journey, others by sea, which is only a trip of three and a half or four hours.

Wollongong, September 21.—Our sea party performed their *trajet* here yesterday most successfully; beautiful weather and smooth water. Were it not for being very tired, I could give you a graphic account of the journey of the land party, which consisted of W——, myself, and the two girls. We started at half-past eight from the railway station, and got to Campbell Town at about ten o'clock. The remaining thirty-eight miles were much wilder and rougher travelling: I in a carriage, the rest on horseback, but coming by turns into the carriage to rest themselves and their horses. The first fourteen miles

of the road were good enough, through a long extent of forest and bush. We were guided by one or two farmers and mounted policemen, who rode ahead to show us the track. We then came to the valley of the Cataract River, which was nothing but a deep, rocky gorge. Here we found the clergyman of Appin waiting for us with a sort of volunteer team of cart-horses, brought gratuitously by some of the farmers of the district; we took out our own horses, and the carriage was taken down and up the sides of the gorge by the cart-horses. From this point we got on well enough, by an ugly and dreary bush-road, till we came to the top of Mount Keira, one of a range of hills bounding the Illawarra district. The view here is beautiful, but the descent, being about fifteen hundred feet in three miles, is steeper than is comfortable, so we all walked down. The pole of the empty carriage broke in getting down; so, leaving W—— with the orderlies, and two or three gentlemen who had come out from Wollongong to meet him, to see after the repairs of this disaster, I walked on to the bottom of the hill, accompanied by the two girls on their horses, and a nice old man, the Presbyterian minister of Wollongong, one of the party who had come out to meet us, and who undertook to walk on with us ladies to show us the way. The carriage took a considerable time in setting to rights; but I was picked up at the bottom of the hill by our own medical man, Dr. O'Brien, who was coming down here to look after some property he has in this neighbourhood, and had, I think, fixed his journey for yesterday with a view to being, if possible, of use to us on the way. He brought me on into the town in his dog-cart. W——, in the meantime, having overtaken us, and remounted, he and the girls rode in, their escort gathering like a snowball, as more and more people came out to meet and escort him into the town. This is a very pretty place; high bold hills, which put us in mind of Van Diemen's

Land, and a nice open sea. We are lodged in the hotel, and have two rooms downstairs and five upstairs, besides a sitting-room and bed-room for the aide-de-camp detached. The children are in a furnished lodging about a hundred yards from us. There is a capital beach, where there are many varieties of shells, and plenty of rocks to scramble about on; and altogether we are very comfortable, and I hope the change will do us all good.

To W. E. Denison, Esq.

Wollongong, September 30, 1858.

My dear Willy,—On Monday I had to receive a deputation to congratulate me on my arrival here, and to bespeak my attention to the state of the harbour of Wollongong. This is formed by a bluff headland projecting from the general line of coast for about five hundred yards in a north-easterly direction, the line of the coast being north and south. An excavation has been made into the face of the rock, about 300 feet long and 180 wide, which affords shelter and wharfage to the vessels loading coal and other produce; but a southerly or easterly gale brings a heavy swell round the bluff, making the harbour an uneasy berth. Propositions were submitted to me to push out a breakwater from the point of the bluff to the east of the harbour, but my answer was, that no engineer would commit himself to an opinion upon such a subject till he had seen with his own eyes the action of the sea with the wind to the eastward; but I said I thought that it would be far cheaper and more effective to excavate an additional dock, either to the right or left of the harbour, making the entrance no wider than was necessary to admit the largest class of vessels visiting the port; and my reason for this was, that I could calculate to a nicety what the excavation would cost, and the amount of accommodation it would afford, while the cost of a breakwater was a question which could never be determined

satisfactorily, inasmuch as a gale might not only wash half of it away, but might drift that half into the harbour.

On Tuesday we rode to see Mr. H——'s coal mine in the Bellambi valley. The coal crops out here in the face of a hill about 250 feet above the sea; it is a seam eight feet thick, the coal being unusually clean. It is remarkable that, so far as they have gone, they have come upon no faults which have disturbed the coal. There are three or four waves, so to speak, which have raised the floor, but these do not appear to have had any action upon the coal, nor upon the roof of the mine; in fact, the coal must have been deposited subsequent to the upheaval of the floor. The miners pay Mr. H—— a royalty of one shilling per ton upon the coal, and he buys the whole of the clean coal from them at the rate of eight shillings per ton; rather a high price, but labour is dear, and a good deal of coal is lost in screening. The valley, or mountain gorge, up which the mine is situated, is very beautiful. The vegetation has more of a tropical than an Australian character. The trees are covered with creepers; the wild fig is a parasite which smothers even the largest trees. I saw a gum tree at least five feet in diameter at the butt, and 150 feet high, in the embrace of a fig which had sent down its roots from a fork or branch some seventy feet high, and was gradually encircling and smothering its nurse. There were two descriptions of palms in the bush, which gave a still more tropical appearance to the scene.

I have lately been writing a paper for the Agricultural Society, on the supply of meat for the inhabitants of New South Wales and Victoria. The increase of inhabitants has been so much more rapid than the increase of stock, as to have now caught it up. All the cattle and sheep which used to be boiled down for tallow are now eaten; and as far as I can see from the statistical tables fur-

nished to the Government, there will not be food for the population next year at the rate at which it has hitherto been consumed; and unless the squatters and agriculturists pay some more attention than they have hitherto done to the improvement of the breed of stock and sheep, and to that of the pasturage, we shall in the course of a few years be very badly off. If fresh diggings bring in an increase of population, the evil will come upon us more rapidly.

Your affectionate Father,
W. D.

To ——.

Sydney, October, 1858.

My dear ——,—I have been down the coast some thirty miles south of Sydney, at a place which rejoices in the name of Wollongong. I staid there with wife and children for some three weeks, and having sent them home, I rode down to Kiama, a small town on the coast, about twenty-five miles to the south of Wollongong, where there was a small break in the usual rugged line of the coast, which was dignified by the title of Harbour. I staid there a day or two to inspect this, and to give an engineering opinion as to its capabilities, and the means of improving them. I could not, however, hold out much prospect of success. While I was there I had a good opportunity of witnessing the action of a 'blowhole.' The sea has worn out a cave about a hundred yards in length, some ten or twelve feet in width, and as many in height; at the termination of this there is a sort of wide oval opening, or chimney, reaching to the surface, some thirty feet above the sea. It seemed as if the ground had fallen in, and been washed away by the action of the water. On the inland side of the chimney, which, by the way, was about thirty feet long by twenty wide, another cave had been eaten into the rock, for some indeterminate

length; not less, I should imagine, than fifty or sixty feet. This inner cave was smaller in section than the one which led from the sea: I should not put it at more than six feet in width, and as many in height. While I was looking about the place, I was surprised to see a column of spray issue out of the ground, and, on going to the spot, I found what I have just described to you; and, watching for some time, I was able to ascertain the mode of its action. When a larger wave than ordinary rolled in through the outer tunnel, and, retaining a certain amount of its onward force, dashed against the opposite side of the chimney, it filled up the whole section of the inner cave, driving the air before it and compressing it. After a time, of course, the amount of compression was such as to equal the force of the wave; and as soon as this began to recoil, the elasticity of the compressed air was sufficient to throw back the column of water which had entered the cave, and to force it up through the chimney to the height of some twenty feet or more above the surface of the ground. This jet of water is pretty frequent when there is any easting in the wind, but at other times there is occasionally a wave large enough to fulfil all the conditions required to throw up a jet, and I heard of several instances where persons, trusting in the apparent stillness of the sea, had all of a sudden been deluged by an unexpected blast from the blowhole. While I was at Kiama, I caught sight of the great comet; with you, I hear, its tail was of portentous length, but with us this had been docked; still, however, it extended over some eight or nine degrees.

From Kiama I went down in a small coasting steamer to Shoalhaven, some twenty or thirty miles further to the southward. Shoalhaven is, in fact, the mouth of the river of the same name, and it deserves its appellation; but we got up some five or six miles in our sea-going steamer, and there found a small river steamer which took us up ten or twelve miles into the middle of a rich level country,

occupied principally by dairy farms. An old settler, Mr. Berry, has got a large property in this neighbourhood; it is said to comprise 80,000 acres; and, though now unimproved, it will eventually be of great value. Looking westward from the settlement, I caught sight of the ridge through which the river forces its way from the country near Braidwood, not far from where I forded it in 1857. We returned by the steamer to Wollongong, having sent our horses back from Kiama to that place. Had the weather been pleasant, we should have gone on to Sydney by the steamer, but there was a nasty short sea running, which made even me feel uncomfortable; so we determined to ride back, taking a line rather different from that by which we made our way down, and got home in good time for dinner.

Yours very truly,
W. D.

To Captain Clarke, R.E.

Sydney, November 6, 1858.

My dear Clarke,—During the last few months, we have had a most curious rush of diggers to a place to the north of Port Curtis. Rumours had come of the discovery of gold there, and the gold-digging public chose to fancy that great wealth was to be found at Keppel Bay; so a stream set in that direction, which kept increasing, till, from Melbourne and Adelaide, thousands joined it who were fools enough to sacrifice good present wages to a most absurd hope for future wealth. Upwards of eight thousand left Melbourne for these diggings, which have turned out to be an isolated patch of about two acres in extent. More than sixteen thousand people have been backwards and forwards between the different ports in the colonies and Keppel Bay. The bubble has now burst; thousands are streaming back. The Government of Victoria has been so anxious about this exodus of population that it has sent

the 'Victoria' steamer with provisions up to the Bay, and is going to bring its stray sheep back again. I think these rushes speak most unfavourably for the state of the people who are engaged in them. They appear to be bound by no ties; they leave home, wife, children, carried off by a most intensely selfish spirit; they do not think of any duty which they owe to their country, or to their family, to say nothing of that which they owe to God; but every impulse of their selfish nature is obeyed on the instant; and the Government, if it can be so called, is in such dread of these people, that instead of opposing the evil which is sapping the foundations of society, it pats these fellows on the back, feeds them at the expense of their better-behaved, industrious neighbours, and brings them back to play the same trick again as soon as an opportunity offers.

Yours very truly,

W. D.

To Sir Roderick Murchison.

Sydney, November 9, 1858.

My dear Sir Roderick,—The Governor of New Zealand wrote to me a short time ago, asking me to send down a competent person to examine and report upon a coal-field which had just been discovered near Auckland. I had nobody at my disposal, so I asked the Commander of the Austrian frigate, 'Novara,' to help me, which he gladly consented to do, and has sent his geologist (Dr. Hochstetter), to examine the Auckland coal-field. From the specimens sent up to me, I should say it was lignite, formed from the *débris* of a Kauri pine forest: the Kauri gum is mixed with the coal in great quantities. I do not know what the specific gravity of ordinary lignite is: the specimen I examined was as heavy as ordinary coal, being 1328, as near as possible the same as that of the coal to the south of Sydney. The bed of the lignite is said to be about four feet thick.

Yours very truly,

W. D.

CHAPTER XIV.

PROPOSAL FOR THE PUBLICATION OF A NATURAL HISTORY OF THE BRITISH COLONIES—A YOUNG PITCAIRN ISLANDER—TRAWLING AND DREDGING—TORTOISE FOUND IN RAILWAY CUTTING—LETTER ON ELECTORAL SCHEME—OPENING OF SYDNEY UNIVERSITY—RUMOURS OF WARS, AND PREPARATIONS FOR HOSTILITIES—VISIT TO PARRAMATTA—AURORA AUSTRALIS—ANOTHER MINISTERIAL CRISIS.

To Sir E. Bulwer Lytton.

Sydney, June 20, 1859.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have taken the liberty, in a despatch forwarded by this mail, to suggest that the Imperial Government should take upon itself the task of compiling '*A Natural History of the British Colonies.*' In doing this, the Government would only be carrying out, on a larger scale, a work analogous to those which have been undertaken by other Governments, and I feel certain that the colonies would be interested in such an undertaking, and afford every aid in their power towards its completion.

This proposition was submitted by the Secretary of State to the Royal Society, and also to the Geographical Society, and was warmly approved by both;[1] but, like a great number of similar suggestions, it fell to the ground when we came to discuss the details. My idea was that each colony should take upon itself the cost of employing competent persons to investigate its own natural history in all the various branches, while the mother country should take upon itself the task of collating and comparing the different works sent in, so as to avoid the expense

[1] See Proceedings of the Royal Society and Geographical Society, in the spring of 1859.

of printing the same description, or engraving the same drawings, half a dozen times over, and of printing the whole in such a form and with such illustrations as would do credit to itself, and justify the outlay on the part of the colonies. The Government, however, did not think of adopting such a scheme as this: it had the fear of Parliament before its eyes, and proposed that the work should be published in small octavo, without any illustrations. To this I objected: I felt certain that a niggardly scheme like this would be rejected at once by the colonies, and I pointed out the unfairness of throwing all the expense of procuring all the information upon the colonists, and then putting them off with such a very paltry specimen of typography as that proposed. The proposal, therefore, in spite of the support of the Royal and Geographical Societies, fell to the ground.

Extracts from Journal.

Sydney, January 8, 1859.

Thousands of good wishes to you all, dear people, for this lately begun new year! Thank God that it finds us well and at peace!

We have got a young Pitcairn islander as a member of our household, a son of Mr. Nobbs, aged fifteen, whom he has sent over here to learn gardening: the youth arrived yesterday, and W——, thinking how much protection and looking after a boy of that age would require, just launched into a place of this sort, having never been anywhere but in those two quiet islands all his life, has determined to let him live here, and put him under the instructions of our own gardener, who is a very good one, to learn his business. W—— came to me to see where I could lodge him; and the most eligible place that occurred to me was a room in the large square flag tower. 'But, dear me,' objected Spreadborough, when I told her of my intention, 'he is not used to *stairs*, and he will certainly break his

neck getting up there, or getting down again!' I confess this was an idea which had never occurred to me; but it is quite true, when one comes to think of it, that the poor boy has probably never been up or down any stairs in his life, except the few that may have led from the cabin to the deck of the ship that brought him here; so, though I do not share in the apprehension of his breaking his neck, I really believe he will find it toilsome work for a time to get up to his dormitory, which certainly is the highest in the house, and does involve a considerable number of stairs. However, the objection has been overruled on the ground of general convenience; and the youth certainly got safe up there last night, and down again this morning.

To Lady C. Denison.

Government House, Sydney, January 25, 1859.

My dear Sister,—Many, many thanks for your kind, affectionate letter. We can always rely upon the sympathy and interest of those near and dear to us, but it is an additional comfort to have the assurance of it from themselves.

I have, in concert with the Speaker of the House of Assembly, set on foot a travelling expedition, during which we are to search the coast north and south of Sydney, to see whether there are not flat fish like turbot to be caught for the supply of the market. We have a schooner lent for the purpose, and the men will be absent for a fortnight. If we are successful, we shall have conferred a benefit upon Sydney; if we fail, the expense will be trifling. I shall also benefit individually by the expedition, for the officers on board will dredge for shells for me. I have turned conchologist latterly, and having thrown myself into the pursuit with the same earnestness which I usually expend upon hobbies of the kind, have already got together a collection of the shells of these colonies and the adjoining seas, to the extent of about

2,000 or 2,500 species. I am now writing to all parts of the world, to brother officers and others, for the purpose of increasing my collection.[1] The wonders of the sea are really, when carefully examined, more striking than those of the land: the large shells which you see constantly are, of course, those that strike the eye most, but look through a microscope, and the millions of minute forms of life with which the sea swarms quite overwhelm you.

To W. E. Denison, Esq.

Sydney, February 6, 1859.

My dear Willy,—I told you in my last letter that Sir Daniel Cooper and I were about to send a schooner down the coast to trawl for fish, and dredge for shells. She sailed on Friday, January 28; and on Sunday it began to blow from the southward and to rain, and this weather continued for four days. The vessel returned yesterday, being out of provisions; and the sole product of their dredging in Botany Bay was, a John Dory, a flounder or two, and a sole. One of the colonial people on board drew a hasty conclusion that it was useless to attempt to dredge on such a coast; but the officer from the 'Herald,' whom I had put on board in charge of the men, was very keen, and willing to persevere, so I spoke to Sir Daniel Cooper, and we have put provisions on board, and they sail again to-morrow.

Great excitement has been caused in the Legislative Assembly by the production of a tortoise, which was said to have been found alive in a cavity in the rock thirteen feet under ground, and four feet from the surface of the rock, by the men employed upon the railway cutting.

[1] Amongst the mass of correspondence which this shell-collecting fancy entailed, I received a letter from an enthusiastic collector at Malta, whose knowledge of English was not, I suppose, equal to the word 'hemisphere,' as he expressed his anxiety to have some shells sent to him *from the other world*, in return for which he promised me a collection of specimens of those from the Mediterranean.

The Speaker sent it to me, and I took it to Mr. W. Macleay, who pronounced it to be a young specimen of the 'Emys longicollis,' or long-necked tortoise, which is common in this country. There must have been a crevice in the stone, through which the animal had penetrated into its receptacle, and he could not have been there very long, for most of the animals, such as toads, &c. which have been found in similar situations, have soon died when admitted to air and light. This fellow, on the contrary, is now swimming about very merrily in my vivarium, amusing himself by biting the tails of some tadpoles which are undergoing their transformation. When I went to Mr. Macleay to ask him about the tortoise, he showed us a set of drawings of Australian fish, many of which, he said, were to be caught in Middle Harbour, so we had decided to go down and try for them both with hook and line and the seine; but a southerly wind set in, which made it impracticable to get into Middle Harbour with any comfort, and as the fish never bite in a southerly wind, we gave up our expedition.

Your affectionate Father,

W. DENISON.

Extracts from Journal.

Sydney, May 25, 1859.

The only remarkable feature about the levée yesterday was the total absence of the Church of Rome: neither Archbishop, nor Vicar General, was present, nor a single priest, nor even a lay member of that communion, with the exception of the old French consul. I can only account for this general secession, so contrary to the usual custom here, by supposing that they have not yet recovered W——'s little allusion to the Church of Rome in his lecture to the Christian Association last year: at least, we do not know of any other offence we can have given them; but the amusing thing is that the reporter for the newspaper, though he was here all the time, either had

not his eyes about him, or had composed his report beforehand, for he has set them all down as being there, the clergy at least; so if they meant their absence to be a public record of their sentiments, it will fail of its effect.

June 4.—The new people have arrived here who have been sent out by the English Government, at W——'s request, for Norfolk Island; a schoolmaster, a stonemason, and one or two other artisans, who were wanted to instruct the people there, and who were promised allotments of land in the island, if they were willing to come out and altogether cast in their lot amongst the Pitcairners. They will probably go on to Norfolk Island next week, or early the week after; and with them is to go young Nobbs, who, as I told you, has been living here for the last few months, learning something of gardening under our gardener, and who is to take this opportunity of returning home, as the new comers from England can complete his agricultural education there. I think his stay here has been a benefit to him; he looks twice as strong and robust as when he came here; but he is a thorough sample of the Pitcairn islander, apparently possessing to the full both the virtues and defects of his race; innocent, well disposed, regular in all religious duties, and always ready to do whatever he is told is right, but wonderfully indolent and apathetic. However, he is a nice boy on the whole; and I hope his little taste of the world will not make him discontented with the quiet monotony of Norfolk Island.

To Sir E. Bulwer Lytton.

Sydney, June 10, 1859.

My dear Sir,—I am in the midst of the bustle of a general election, in which, for the first time, we are trying the experiment of manhood suffrage and vote by ballot, there is, however, a condition of residence imposed upon the electors, which reduces very much the number of men

who would otherwise claim to be placed on the roll in virtue of their manhood qualification. I think the increase in Sydney upon the electoral roll has not exceeded 2,000; it was 12,000, it is now 14,000.

In a former letter to you I suggested that an electoral experiment should be tried at Moreton Bay; viz., that the country should be divided into districts returning more than one member, and that each elector should be limited to a single vote.

The question of reform has been brought so prominently forward, both here and in England, since I wrote that letter, that I have been induced to consider the subject more carefully, and I venture to address you on the general question of representation, not only as affecting the colonies which are subjected to 'Responsible Government,' but as one in which England itself has the deepest interest. It may, I think, be conceded that there is a tendency, in all countries which have a representative Legislature, to lower the qualification of the electoral body; the limit, to which all are approximating more or less rapidly, being universal suffrage. Every step taken, every modification of the electoral scheme is in that direction, and the limit will be reached, sooner of course in some countries than in others, but eventually in all. Since, then, all that can be looked for, by those who struggle most energetically against the democratic tendency, is postponement; since they cannot hope to turn the stream, and make it run upwards, would it not be wise to consider whether it might not be possible, by some simple modification of the system, to neutralise the evil effects which are likely, nay, indeed, certain, to be the result of handing over to the lower and uneducated classes, the power of returning a large majority of the members of the Legislature?

Concessions which would be accepted thankfully now, will be scouted some years hence; and conditions which

might be imposed as the price of such concessions, would not be listened to for an instant when the progress of democratic opinions has been such as to leave but a few steps between the existing state of the representation and the ultimate limit of universal suffrage. I will not, however, say more as to the policy of adopting the scheme which I advocate, but will content myself with submitting it, and saying a few words illustrative of its probable action upon the representation. My proposition is, 1st, that each elector should not be entitled to give more than *one vote*, however numerous may be the members for the district in which he resides, or for which he votes. 2nd, that the country should be divided into districts, each returning several members (the greater the number the better). 3rd, that the votes should be taken by ballot. I say nothing as to the qualification of voters; I should not wish to see this suddenly lowered, but the system would render even universal suffrage harmless.

The result of the working of this scheme would be a joint representation of population and property. The lower classes may conceive themselves to have an interest in the return of the noisy demagogue, and they would probably place him, by the influence of numbers, at the head of the poll; but as, owing to the secrecy of the ballot, they would be unable to tell what the position of their candidate might be with reference to the others, they would not hazard his return by an attempt to force in two or more representatives at the risk of the failure of all. The more numerous the members, and the larger the constituency, the more perfectly would the scheme work, and the more scope would be given for the representation of interests and property. The actual division of the country, however, must depend upon local peculiarities. I feel certain that the adoption of such a scheme would give even to the American system of universal suffrage that which it requires to make Congress a true

representation of the community; at present it exhibits the feelings and passions of the mob. To a similar condition will all the British colonies, and even England itself, be reduced, unless some steps be taken to secure to property its fair proportionate importance in the representation. This can only be done in two ways, either by multiplying the votes of the wealthy, or by the scheme above submitted. The former mode would but invite opposition, give cause to every mob orator to declaim against the possessors of property, and would, in fact, never be able to maintain itself; the latter, by putting all men on an equality, cuts from under the mob orator everything upon which he could by possibility found a complaint; it starts upon a broad and simple principle, one which is not in any way open to attack; and should it be adopted, there will be an end for ever of those cries for reform by which demagogues teach people to look to legislation for the removal of social evils emanating from the unwholsome condition of the moral atmosphere, over which the Legislature has no control.

Ever yours truly,

W. D.

To W. E. Denison, Esq.

Sydney, July 31, 1850.

My dear Willy,—Since I wrote last, there has not been much doing, with the exception of the opening of the University, the Hall of which, a very fine room, 135 feet long and forty-five feet wide, with an open gothic roof and painted windows, was first used for conferring degrees on Monday, the 17th. Then on Tuesday, and all the following days till Saturday, there were concerts, sometimes in the morning, sometimes in the evening, and sometimes in both. I never was in a better room for hearing music, for though we were placed in the gallery at the very extremity, we heard every note as clearly as possible.

The rumour of the possibility of war with France has

put us upon our mettle; and we have not only been thinking of defending ourselves, but of attacking our neighbours. I proposed to General Macarthur that, as soon as we heard that war was declared, we should send as large a force as we could muster, and oust the French from New Caledonia; and we shall probably try our hands at this, should war be proclaimed. I hear that Port de France, their head-quarters in New Caledonia, is a very good harbour when you get into it. The entrance lies between two islands, where the water is deep, while between these islands and the mainland it is too shallow to admit a vessel drawing any water. There is a conical hill above the town, forming the extremity of a long ridge. If an enemy could get possession of this hill, the town would be at his mercy; so our plan would be to land the troops at some distance, and to move along the ridge to the conical hill, while the vessels would make for the harbour and silence the batteries, bringing a fire upon the conical hill at the same time, if it should be occupied by the French. There is a French vessel here which has been spying out the nakedness of the land; the officers have been poking about, looking at our batteries, and concocting means of attacking them. We have been doing the same thing at New Caledonia, the 'Cordelia' having been sent there for the purpose. I dare say, however, that the whole thing will come to an end without any collision between us.

I am trying to persuade the Government to construct two additional batteries, or rather to make one new one on Garden Island, and to strengthen that in Fort Macquarie. I shall see whether I cannot scheme out an embrasure which will only admit the muzzle of a heavy gun; the present embrasures are only funnels to receive shot, whereas, could we manage to invert them, and put the small end outwards, there would be but little risk of the gun being dismounted. In order, however, to manage

this, the parapet must be reduced in thickness, so as not to exceed the length of the chase of the gun, that is, the distance from the muzzle to the part in front of the trunnion, or the first reinforce. The face of the embrasure must be strengthened, in such a case, with iron plates some six inches thick. We are thinking of having some of Armstrong's guns for our new batteries. Yesterday, as we were walking in the domain, we were suddenly startled by a gun from the French corvette; this was succeeded by another, and we concluded, what turned out to be the case, that she had received news of the victories over the Austrians in Italy. I have had nothing as yet but the telegraphic news, which speaks of sundry battles, and of the retreat of the Austrians across the Adige.

I had a hard walk through the bush from George's Head the other day. Captain Loring and I went down in his boat to examine a spot which he considered well adapted for fixing one end of a boom to close the entrance of the harbour. We landed at George's Head, and I proposed that we should send the boat round Bradley's Head to meet us on the opposite side, while we walked across the hill. Accordingly, we stepped on, but on reaching the first bay we could not see a boat, walked on round the head of the next bay, still no boat, and so we went on walking round the different bays, till we came upon the boat at the last of all, just opposite Government House.

August 13.—The mail came in on Thursday. We are at peace with the French, as yet, so my preparations to attack them have been useless for the present; but I have written to the Secretary of State, pointing out the character of the position of New Caledonia and giving my opinion that the French, in case of a war, should not be allowed to hold it.

Miss Denison to Miss Hornby.

Sydney, September 13, 1859.

Dear Aunt M——,— I remember that I have not written to you since the musical festival at the University, which I think you will like to hear something about. We were so very sorry that mamma was ill the whole week and could not go, as I am sure she would have enjoyed it. The festival lasted altogether a week. On Monday, the 17th July, there was the commemoration, and conferring of degrees and prizes; on Tuesday the 'Messiah;' on Wednesday, the 'Creation,' and an evening concert; Thursday an evening concert; Friday the 'Messiah' again; and on Saturday a cheap afternoon concert. S—— and I went with papa on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Saturday; we should have gone also on Thursday evening if the weather had been fine, but unfortunately it was dreadfully wet. The commemoration was a very fine sight. S—— and I sat in the body of the hall (papa was on the daïs, beside the Provost), which was a better place for seeing the windows than the gallery at the east end, where we sat on the succeeding days. The coloured windows are splendid. The large western window, given by Sir Charles Nicholson the Provost, represents the founders of colleges at Oxford; of these the figures of Alfred the Great and John de Balliol are considered the best. The corresponding window at the east end of the hall, given by Sir Daniel Cooper, contains figures of the founders of colleges at Cambridge; King Henry the VIII. is one of the best of these. On the north side there are seven windows, one of which represents the English sovereigns since the Conquest, among whom Oliver Cromwell figures; the other six windows contain three lights each, and one figure in each light, except in one instance where Beaumont and Fletcher occupy one light, and Massinger

and Ford another. One of the best side windows contains Venerable Bede, Alcuin and Cædmon—another has, Sir Thomas More, the Earl of Surrey, and Spenser. Captain Cook appears in one of the five windows on the south side of the hall, together with Judge Blackstone and Dr. Black. The arches which support the roof spring from large carved angels, holding shields in front of them, on which are painted different mottoes. . . .

Ever your affectionate Niece,

M. D.

To Lady Hornby.

Sydney, October 31, 1859.

I had a satisfactory letter from my brother by the last mail. I had written to ask him to ascertain from the Colonial Office what my prospects were of remaining here, in order that I might settle something about H——. I was told in reply that I stood among the first class of Governors, and that it had been the intention of Sir B. Lytton to have appointed me to the Government of Canada when a vacancy occurred,—so I have decided to keep H—— with us till we see what turn matters take.

L—— keeps you *au fait* of all that occurs in our household, so I will step at once to things political. I have now been working responsible government for three years and a half, and have to report that the anticipations of those who hailed its advent as the introduction of a political millennium have been grievously disappointed. During this period I have had five sets of Ministers, besides numerous individual changes: not one single measure for social improvement has passed, and the only acts of importance which have stood the ordeal are those of very questionable advantage. Since the commencement of the present session, in a House elected by universal suffrage, Mr. Cowper, the head of the Government, has been obliged to resign twice. The first time the

House eat its own words, and he was able to come back; on the second occasion, the decision was so unmistakeably against him, that he and his colleagues were obliged to resign altogether. I have now got a set of untried men, the outsiders in the political race, but I hardly expect to have them in for the remainder of the session. Indeed, I do not feel sure that I shall not have to turn them out this very day, for they appear inclined to override the law, instead of considering themselves bound to carry it out honestly. One of them, on the ground, as he termed it, of principle, objected to the payments of the stipends of the clergy which are established by law, because he was opposed to state aid, and was bound to do his best to put an end to the system of granting salaries to the clergy. I foresaw a difficulty, so wrote a cautious letter, warning my Ministers of the risk which they would incur if they set their individual opinions in opposition to the law. It may be that they will take the hint, but if they do not, and still persist in making use of their peculiar powers to hamper the operation of the law, I shall make a clean sweep of them very shortly.

I shall have some trouble in a few days about Moreton Bay. Sir George Bowen, the new Governor, will arrive by the next mail, and he and I shall have to arrange between us as to the constitution of the Legislature, &c. &c. In the meantime, the wise people here have, at the eleventh, or rather, almost at the twelfth hour, found out all sorts of objections to the separation, even going so far as to say that it is illegal; so they propose to ask me to set aside the Queen's Commission, to send Sir G. Bowen back again to England, in fact, to make a fool of myself. This, however, I shall entirely decline to do; but the separation will involve a variety of complications, and give me a good deal of trouble.

I have just finished with my Executive Council, and they have acceded to my representations so they are safe

for the present. I find, too, that having no administrative experience, they are willing to adopt suggestions made to them, and I have more chance of being able to give them a proper direction than I had with their predecessors. The present men have decided opinions, and I hope these may take a proper direction, for they have pluck to carry them out. I have thrown out an idea as to the constitution of the Legislative Council, the same scheme which I proposed in Van Diemen's Land; namely, to make the Council elective, but to give to each elector only one vote. They jumped at this as a mode of meeting a difficult question, which would unite the suffrages of a large body of their supporters.

To Lady C. Denison.

Sydney, November 5, 1859.

My dear Sister,—I must commence my letter at all events thus early, for I shall have my hands full of work after the arrival of the mail. I am going to put up Sir G. Bowen and all his belongings at Government House, as it is better that he should be with me than at an hotel.

There will be some complicated cases regarding the separation, requiring adjustment, which will demand from Bowen and myself a good deal of consideration, and then a determination to adhere to our decision when we have once arrived at it. The whole thing, however, is almost a farce. A double legislature consisting of thirty-six members, sitting at Sutton in order to regulate the affairs of a country about twice the size of England and Scotland, *the said legislature consisting in great measure of the inhabitants of Sutton*, would almost represent the state of things about to be called into existence; with this exception in favour of Sutton, that it has the means of communicating rapidly with every part of the country, whereas from

Brisbane there are no means of getting to any portion of Queensland, except that adjoining the coast, unless by roads which are almost impracticable.

I shall be glad when the whole matter is settled, and Sir George is established at Brisbane, comfortably I am afraid I cannot promise.

Extracts from Journal.

Sydney, August 10, 1859.

A letter has arrived from Norfolk Island, from young Nobbs to Spreadborough, who looked after him like a mother all the time he was here, beginning 'Honoured Madam,' and ending, 'Your affectionate son!'

August 24.—We have decided on giving M—— a little change of air: so we propose going up to Parramatta on Saturday, to an inn there, as there is no other place; but oh! the difficulty of getting change of air here! It is a most hopeless country to move about in, and it is a standing wonder to me that this, which is so much the older colony, should be so far behind Van Diemen's Land as, in this respect, it is. There we had good roads, at least to all the principal places, and very tidy inns. Here there is scarcely anything worthy of the name of a road, and the so-called inns hardly deserve to be ranked as public houses; so that, what with the difficulty of travelling at all, and the wretchedness of the accommodation at the journey's end, 'change of air,' though frequently harped upon by the doctors, is neither an easy nor a pleasant remedy. Parramatta is, at all events, accessible; for the railway takes us there, and there is an inn, which I believe is good, and a satisfactory church to go to on Sunday; and we can come back at anytime, at no further expense of exertion than about three quarters of an hour of railway.

Parramatta, August 28.—According to our arrangement, we came up here yesterday: the chief of the

journey was by railway, and so was attended by no difficulty or *désagrément*. We took a walk, after our arrival, in the grounds of the old Government House, which are now thrown open as a sort of public park; and this morning (Sunday) we have been to a very nice little church, the oldest in the colony, where the service is well performed, all but the singing, which is very indifferent.

August 31.—W—— vibrated between this place and Sydney till yesterday afternoon, when he finally left us, as he has to open the new Parliament to-day, and we, if all be well, are to return home to-morrow. A curious thing happened on Monday, the day before yesterday: all through the day the electric telegraph wires, right through the colony, were in a strange state of irregularity and disturbance. They would work, certainly, and transmit messages, but it was in an odd irregular kind of way; and nobody could discover the least cause for it. About half-past seven o'clock in the evening there came on a most brilliant and beautiful display of Aurora Australis, much more vivid than I have ever seen of the Borealis in England, and more remarkable, as in this latitude the sight of the phenomenon at all is much more uncommon than it is even in England. It was of a beautiful rose-colour, appearing at first in patches, and then spreading into a sort of arch, with sudden streaks of yellow or white light darting across it, and the stars all the time shining through it; and it was visible quite to the south-western extremity of this colony, but not at Melbourne; but the curious thing was, that, from the time it appeared, the telegraphic wires began to fall into a calmer state of mind, and by the time the Aurora had entirely passed away, which it did, I think, in about an hour and a half, the wires worked again quite in their usual manner. We have almost more out-of-doors occupation than we shall have time to manage; for first, nearly all Parramatta has called on me, and the calls have to be returned; then

there have been the Orphan Schools to visit, and last, not least, there is a poor old woman, aged nearly ninety, who has been chief washerwoman to every Governor and Governor's family since the time of Governor Macquarie, and therefore has always been a sort of hanger-on of the Government House here. Now she and her 'old man' (some years younger than herself) are both blind, and as this prevents her washing (though she still seems strong enough for work), her principal amusement lies in walking about, and her chief pleasure in meeting 'the Governor,' or any of his family, and talking to them about old times, or about the evil practices of her son-in-law! This seems to be the standing grievance of the poor old woman's life: her daughter, 'a good, quiet, sober creature, just like myself' (as she remarked to me yesterday), having married a man 'who never does a turn of work, and has no feeling for his children, and won't spare a shilling a week to let them go to school!' I do not know how much time M—— and I spent yesterday morning in listening to this often-repeated tale; and now I am going off to pay the old couple a farewell visit.

Sydney, September 5.—We got home, according to our arrangements, last Monday, all the better for the change of air. Here we are acting over again the old story in political matters: Parliament opens on Wednesday; Ministers are out on Saturday! and to-day (Monday) a Mr. Murray * is to let W—— know if he can form an administration, he having been 'sent for' for that purpose.

September 7.—Mr. Murray failed in his attempts to form a 'cabinet,' and now it seems probable that the old Ministers will come back again, or at least, the chief of them; but the 'crisis' is not yet over, or anything decided.

* Now Sir Terence Aubrey Murray.

CHAPTER XV.

MINISTERIAL DIFFICULTIES—NEWS FROM NEW ZEALAND—THE CONSCIENTIOUS DESPATCH BEARER—TELEGRAMS IN CIPHER—REDUCED YIELD OF GOLD IN VICTORIA—INTERESTING BEQUEST—SUGGESTIONS FOR MAORI WARFARE—RAILWAY JOURNEY DURING A FLOOD—MODE OF EXTRACTING GOLD FROM QUARTZ REEFS—APPOINTMENT TO GOVERNORSHIP OF MADRAS—FAREWELL TO SYDNEY—DEPARTURE—VOYAGE TO MADRAS.

To Captain Clarke, R.E.

Sydney, February 7, 1860.

MY DEAR CLARKE,—My Ministers appear likely to remain in office, but they hang on by sufferance, merely because there are no other men capable of combining together to form a Ministry. We are going on as usual; the estimates for 1860 have not been passed, and we are living upon resolutions of the Assembly, in accordance with which a monthly allowance is doled out to us.

I have had some correspondence with Sir Henry Barkly on the subject of the survey of Victoria. I wrote for some information as to the plan proposed by your successor of dividing the country into squares by means of meridians and parallels of latitude. It seemed to me that he intended to survey the heavens first, and then to apply these measurements to the earth; and I wanted to know how he proposed to determine the distances between his meridians, that is, the differences of longitude. I got from Sir Henry in reply the Surveyor General's own statements, which were incomprehensible. I hear that he has lockspitted out one meridian upon some assumption as to its position in the globe with reference to the meridian of Greenwich, and is preparing to use this as a base.

Hitherto we have been in the habit of determining the length of the degree by measurement; now we are going to assume this as a fact, and to apply it, or fractional parts of it (how these are to be ascertained I don't know), as elements for calculating distances in directions not coinciding with the meridian; this seems to me to be putting the cart before the horse; but your Victorian friends are go-ahead people.

I was in hopes of being able to carry out some experiments against a wrought-iron face to an embrasure, and had prepared a screen of four or five thicknesses of boiler plate, riveted together, which I proposed to use for the purpose. The Assembly, however, would not vote the small sum required, so all my preparations have gone for nothing. I feel certain that something may be done to make coast batteries more effective against shipping, or, rather, less liable to be ruined by the fire of ships which can lie within a short distance of them.

Yours truly,
W. D.

To Lady Charlotte Denison.

Government House, Sydney, February 11, 1860.

My dear Sister,—I am writing in the midst of a thunderstorm, which has continued, with intervals of course, for three days. Yesterday the lightning and thunder were for upwards of an hour continuous, the lightning blazing at intervals of not more than a second, and the thunder one steady roar. The rain, too, came down not as rain, but like a douche, and a good deal of damage was done in the town by both lightning and rain. One upholsterer's shop was struck by the former, which pursued a most erratic course, jumping about in the storeroom, apparently without any particular reason, from one article of furniture to another, and exhibiting a marked predilection for the mirrors, several of which were com-

pletely smashed. I have never witnessed such a storm before, either for violence or continuance. The rain has swept my garden, which has a watercourse through it, and done a good deal of damage, but the benefit from the thorough soaking it has given to everything more than counterbalances my loss.

My political affairs are going on most unsatisfactorily. My Ministers seem to me to be completely overwhelmed with the pressure thrown upon them; and instead of setting to work to master the different subjects, an easy thing enough if a man would only turn his attention to it, they give up altogether. In some cases, and generally they are those which ought not to be so dealt with, they start from some abstract idea of what ought to be, not of what is; and then they upset all former rules and precedents. The Legislative Assembly, too, is taking advantage of their ignorance and want of administrative ability, and is pressing upon Ministers claims which they do not like to refuse, and is fast constituting itself the executive as well as the legislative body.

Your affectionate Brother,

W. D.

Extract from Journal.

February 29, 1860.

We seem to be on the eve of another ministerial crisis; at least, though the Ministers have not yet declared their intentions, even to W——, things have come to such a pass that it does not seem possible they can hold on much longer, unless they dissolve the House, which would make the fourth parliament we have had, in rather less than four years! I cannot imagine how it is possible for any Government to go on, unless members in general would see that the business of the country, and not personal quarrels and scrambles for places, is the real object of their meeting. At present, the House has been sitting

since the end of August, and scarcely anything has been done; even the estimates for the present year are not voted, and they are literally going on, voting each month a certain sum to carry on the necessary expenses of that month, because the quarrels and the useless discussions take up so much time that they cannot get through even the regular business of voting the annual estimates. Such is responsible government in a colony, and it is plain to see that people are opening their eyes to the fact, that it has as yet been a failure. There was a leading article in the principal Sydney newspaper yesterday morning, which ended with some expressions that really were almost tantamount to a suggestion that W—— had better smash the whole concern, and take matters into his own hands by a *coup d'État*. I forget how the sentence began, but it ended thus: 'We know what Oliver Cromwell did, and we know what Louis Napoleon did; but of course these examples will be of no authority here.' Of course not; but the very expression is curious, when one remembers the tone taken by colonial papers a few years ago, when everything that was, or was not done, was always the fault of the Governor, and of the autocratic and irresponsible system of government; and when the possession of a Parliament of their own, and a set of responsible ministers, was to be a remedy for all evils, and the introduction of the most perfect mode of carrying on business that ever was.

March 2.—Ministers are out, as was to be expected; and Mr. Forster, the late Premier, declined giving W—— any advice as to whom he should send for, naturally enough, I think, for I do not see who can have a chance of carrying on a Government long.

April 6.—Some little time ago, we heard that there were threatenings of rather a serious outbreak with the natives in New Zealand, so much so, that the next news from thence were looked for with some anxiety; and the night

before last, just as we were getting into bed, a steamer came up the harbour, and W—— heard it stop and hail the 'Iris,' our Commodore's ship; and in the still moonlight night, he distinctly heard the words, 'Send a boat on board for despatches.' I thought this must betoken something serious, but W——, though he supposed it was the New Zealand steamer, did not think we should hear any more of it before morning; and so we went to bed and to sleep: but some time after, I was awakened by a loud sharp knocking at the bedroom door, followed by the aide-de-camp's voice outside, asking if he could speak to Sir William. It was lucky I had been prepared for something a little out of the common way by the sounds from this steamer, or I suppose my imagination could not have jumped to anything less formidable than the house being on fire, on being roused in this sudden way. As it was, the imagination directly went New Zealand-wards, and so I called up W——, who was fast asleep and had heard nothing, and away he went to the door, and sure enough, there were despatches from New Zealand, brought by an unfortunate man who had promised the Governor of New Zealand to deliver them immediately on his arrival, and who had been valiant enough to keep his promise to the letter, though he had arrived at such an unearthly hour, and was so sea-sick that Mr. P—— had felt obliged, as he told us in the morning, to get him a little wine and water before he came up to rouse W——. Can you not imagine poor W——, in his night-shirt, reading the despatches, with broken exclamations of 'Tonnerre!' 'Broken all my night's rest!' 'what an ass!' &c., &c.; and really the sea-sick despatch carrier had been extra conscientious, for though the despatches stated that hostilities had broken out with the natives, and that they wanted all the assistance we and the neighbouring colonies could send them, still it was impossible to send it before morning, so that

very little was gained by such an immediate delivery of his budget.

April 10.—All this New Zealand business gave W—— a good deal to do, as you may suppose. On the day after the nocturnal alarm I told you of, he was up early in the morning writing to the commodore, and sending for the commander of the forces; and the result was, that on the day following (Good Friday) the 'Cordelia,' a man-of-war steamer, was off to the scene of action, and the day after that, the 'Iris' sailed, and a steamer has been chartered to convey every man that can be spared from the 12th Regiment and Artillery, and they are to embark to-day. Then there was a telegraphing down to Melbourne for what troops could be spared from thence, and for the 'Pelorus,' man-of-war steamer, to go off to New Zealand too; and such a comical scene we had on the evening of Good Friday, in trying to decipher the immensely long telegram in return, which conveyed the orders of the General there to the Commanding Officer here! It was sent to W—— first, for the Government telegrams are always conveyed in a sort of cipher, and when this cipher comes to be filtered through three sets of handwritings, that of the person first giving it and then that of two sets of officials at the Telegraph Office, who have no key to the cipher, and therefore can merely set down the letters without an idea of what they mean, you may imagine that it is not always very easy to make it out. W—— called me to help, and I flatter myself that my genius rather shone on the occasion, and made it into sense with tolerable quickness, considering; but the end of it was that W—— sent to the commander of the forces, first, my copy of the literal translation of the cipher, and then what he called a free translation, arranging it into sense and English.

To Sir Roderick Murchison.

Sydney, April, 1860.

My dear Sir Roderick,—Many thanks for your letter with reference to 'The Natural History of the British Colonies.' I wish you would take an opportunity of hinting to the Secretary of State, that the first step to be taken is to secure, in each colony, the cooperation of the Government, and to induce it to furnish the means of employing competent people to prepare materials for publication. It appears to me to be a little premature to talk about selecting a person to superintend the publication of works which have yet to be written.

The reduction in the yield of gold by the Victoria fields is steadily continuing, and it has attracted the attention of the Victoria papers. It is the natural termination of surface-digging; gold-mining is now coming into action. I am unable to give an opinion as to the matter in dispute between you and Sir Henry Barkly, namely, the comparative richness of the upper or lower portions of a quartz reef. I have one *fact*, however, which would seem to confirm your view of the matter. The Peel River Company (I think that is the name) in working upon a reef rich enough on the surface to induce them to commence operations, found that, as they got down, the proportion between the gold and its alloy, silver, began to vary; the quantity of gold diminished, that of silver increased; so that, before they reached any great depth, that which was a fairly rich gold mine on the surface, became a silver mine, too poor to make it worth their while to continue working.

April 10.—We have been busy during the last week sending troops to New Zealand, where some questions relative to the purchase of land from the natives have led to hostilities between the white man and the Maories. Were we to listen to the whites, nothing of course could

be more unwarrantable than the conduct of the natives; but, to a stander by like myself, the treatment of the natives by the whites has been such as would naturally induce the conduct which we designate as rebellion; and to tell you the truth, I believe that it was intended that such should be the result.

It is the old story when a country is occupied by different races: the Norman treated the Saxon, the Saxon the Briton, just as the Englishman of the present day treats the Caffre or the Maori. The mode of procedure, it is true, is perhaps different; but the result is the same. The white man wants the land, and finds means of dispossessing the native holder according to white law: the coloured man resists in the mode prescribed to him by his own customs, and is termed a rebel, a savage, and his mode of action designated as barbarous, heathenish, &c.

In the present instance, the whites miscalculated their own strength, so that, having proclaimed martial law, a course which would seem to presuppose a power to carry out the punishments which such a law inflicts, they found themselves in danger of having these punishments inflicted upon themselves, and came crying to me for assistance. I was compelled to send them help, but I have warned the Governor that he must handle his men cautiously, for we have no more to spare, so that any repulse would now be fatal, not, of course, to our hold on New Zealand—that is too firmly fixed to be shaken off—but to any hope of amalgamation of races, and to the immediate prosperity of the colony.

Yours very truly,
W. D.

Extracts from Journal.

Sydney, April 27, 1860.

You cannot think how often our thoughts are turning England-wards now, when W——'s time here may be

drawing near its close, and how earnestly we pray that there may be a happy meeting in store for us! Of course we know nothing yet as to our future, and I cannot help feeling a little afraid that, as W—— is acknowledged at the Colonial Office to be doing his work well, they may choose to leave us here a year or two longer than our official time, as they did in Van Diemen's Land; so on the whole, I find it the best way not to allow myself to look forward, or set my heart too much upon anything.

Our political matters are getting on more quietly than usual; that is to say, the Ministers do not agree very well among themselves, and may not, perhaps, be able to go on together long on that account; but they really have held office for nearly two months, and are now voting the estimates for this current year which ought to have been passed before the year began, so that is an improvement, at any rate, on the state of things a little while ago, when I began to think they would never get any set of Ministers to carry on the Government at all.

May 28.—W—— has had rather a curious and interesting legacy left him. There was a poor old man in Hobart Town when we were there, whom we knew by the name of 'Old Jones,' and to whom W—— used to give a weekly allowance, on account of his great age and poverty. He had once been in a respectable situation in life, and had held the office of water bailiff, or something of the sort, under the Corporation of London; then he had committed himself in some terrible way (forgery, I think), and so had been transported; but when we knew him he had regained the comparative freedom of a conditional pardon. Yesterday there arrived from Hobart Town a very curious old Bible, bearing the date of 1625, printed in old English letters and old spelling, and with most elaborate devices, genealogies, and pictures of Apostles and

Evangelists on the title-pages, and very complete, with the Apocrypha, marginal references, and a curious old concordance at the end, and a glossary of Scripture names and their significations. Altogether, it is a most interesting old copy, though, alas! smelling horribly of tobacco, in which, I suppose, our friend old Jones was wont to indulge. His name, with a variety of other names of different successive possessors of the book, appears written in several parts of it; and on the margin of one leaf is written the old man's direction, that 'after his decease, this Holy Book should be given to William Pratt, to be by him sent to Sir W. Denison, Governor of New South Wales, if he is still in that colony: if Sir William should have left the colony, then the book is to belong to the said William Pratt, and his heirs.' This parcel was accompanied by a note from this Mr. Pratt, who is a printer in Hobart Town, and who tells us that old Jones died a few months ago, and that he (Mr. Pratt) had visited him during his illness, when he often spoke of us, and seemed to retain a grateful recollection of what W—— had done for him. I am only sorry that the letter did not mention the old man's age at the time of his death; it must have been very great, over a hundred certainly, if the history I was told about him at Hobart Town was true, viz., that, in the days of his former prosperity in London, he sat as a juryman on the trial of some of the people engaged in Lord George Gordon's riots in 1780!

To Lieutenant Warburton, R.E.

Government House, Sydney, June 6, 1860.

My dear W——,—I send you herewith a couple of copies of 'Hints as to the Preservation of Specimens of Natural History;' these may be of some service to you. I need hardly advert to the pleasure which the study of

Natural History confers upon him who follows it up either as a business or a relaxation. As you yourself appear to be fully aware of this, I can but advise you, as one who has experienced the advantages arising from such studies, to lose no opportunities of obtaining a general acquaintance with the domain of nature.

Even a slight knowledge of the principles of any particular science confers an immense amount of pleasure upon the possessor, in enabling him to listen with intelligent interest to the conversation of those more advanced than himself. If it were only for this, the time expended in acquiring some knowledge of Geology, Zoology, Botany, &c., &c., would be well bestowed. You will find a good microscope an immense assistance to you in unfolding the structure of plants, animals, insects, &c.; a good 'student's microscope,' with quite power enough, may be procured for four or five pounds. And now, as to matters of a more purely professional character. You may be called upon to act as an engineer against the natives, and to direct an attack upon their pahs; do not let your contempt of the natives lead you to commit the fatal error of neglecting any precaution which may ensure success; but bring into action all the expedients which experience and a thorough knowledge of general principles should suggest. The pahs, for instance, are not flanked; avail yourself of this fault;—work up steadily towards an angular point where the direct fire cannot be heavy. Then as to the mode of working up; a strong mantlet upon a couple of wheels, in fact, on the body of a dray, will guarantee your men from direct fire, and would at the same time carry a barrel of powder sufficient to blow down the wall or stockade of the pah. A sheet of strong corrugated iron might be thick enough to resist Maori musketry; at all events, a good sheet of boiler plate would be quite adequate; another sheet hung under the pah, would guarantee the limbs of the men employed in moving the mantlet

forward; the latter must be hung so as to turn up in case a stump is encountered.

Then again, if Maories have established themselves in a pah, it is of the *utmost* importance that they should not be allowed to escape. The effect produced by the escape of a garrison after the long defence of a post is most injurious to the assailants. It would therefore be desirable to turn the attention of the attacking force, *first of all*, to the prevention of the escape of the garrison: what the attacking party wants is not the bare walls of the pah, but the bodies of those who built and defended it, and who, if allowed to escape, will, in the course of a few days, be in a position to establish themselves in another equally defensible post. Follow, therefore, the example of Cæsar: first take care that your enemy shall not escape; when you have done that, take what other steps you choose to accelerate his surrender; bring fire upon him, make his tenement as uncomfortable as possible; starve him if you have time, &c., &c., but let him not come out, except as a prisoner of war, with arms reversed, surrendering at discretion. I must not, however, make a letter, which was intended merely as an indication of the interest I take in you as a young brother officer, an essay upon natural history or the attack of pahs; so I will conclude by saying that it will give me pleasure to hear from you after your arrival in New Zealand, and that my advice and assistance will be always at your command, should you require either one or the other, or both.

Yours very truly,

W. D.

To W. E. Denison, Esq.

Sydney, June 10, 1860.

My dear Willy,—Since I last wrote, we have had our usual Queen's birthday ball. We had too few troops to venture upon a review, so I had my usual levée, and the

ball in the evening. After the ball came the races. Mr. Deas Thomson and the members of the Jockey Club have managed to make a very good course down in the flat, near where the waterworks engine was placed. This spot had been originally selected and reserved for a racecourse, but little or nothing had been done to it at any time, and for several years the scrub had been allowed to grow all over it. Deas Thomson, however, took it in hand; he first cleared away all the scrub, and formed a sort of circular sweep of $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles in length, laying bare, by so doing, the white drift sand of which the soil is composed. Upon the sand he first spread a quantity of manure, then a quantity of the Doub grass, a species of couch grass, then some street sweepings and stronger soil, on which he sowed English grasses and clover. Luckily, rain fell soon after this sowing, and the whole of the grasses grew very well, so that there is already a good sound turf, to which the galloping of the horses has done no harm. They have raised a good stand, fenced in the course, and done very much, considering the time they have had to work at it. The racing was but middling; the two-year-olds especially seemed small and weak, as if they had been starved as yearlings.

The news I get from New Zealand is not very encouraging; the troops are doing nothing, but then there is not much to do. They went to look at a pah the other day, but finding it an awkward place, turned round and came back again. The fact is, that —— knows nothing but the mere routine of regimental duty; he, like too many others, seems to think that all the duty of an officer consists in handling troops; that is, in the lower branch of military science, viz., tactics; and they leave strategy, the higher part, to itself. The consequence is, that when thrown into difficult positions, they have to trust entirely to their men to fight their way out of them; they have to look to their men instead of their men to them. Now

there are many situations in which no amount of courage will enable men to fight their way out, and when this is the case, the force, with an incompetent commander, comes to grief. Now with regard to the Maories, they are just the people who ought never to be allowed to think that they have beaten you; and yet, at the same time, their mode of defending themselves is so well adapted to the state of the country, and the material at their disposal, that it requires careful consideration, and a well-arranged plan before any force ought to be brought up to attack a pah.

The gold field on the Snowy River is likely to produce a great effect upon our relations with Victoria. It is so near the border between us and Victoria, that stores will be brought over from thence to supply the diggers; and we, feeling that we shall lose a good deal of revenue by this, are putting on Custom House officers to check smuggling. I tried to put a stop to this; but it was clearly shown to me that we were even now losing from 12,000*l.* to 15,000*l.* per annum, and that this would be doubled if the expected rush takes place in the spring; so I had to give in, but am now doing everything in my power to induce the colonies to join and have one uniform tariff, and to divide the proceeds among the different governments in proportion to the population: the internal traffic might then be left free and unshackled. However, it will be difficult to bring either my government or those of the other colonies to my way of thinking.

Your affectionate Father,

W. D.

To ——.

Government House, Sydney, July 1, 1860.

The session of the legislature will close on Wednesday. I have had a good deal of trouble with the Legislative Council or Upper House, whose dignity was offended at something done by my Ministers which it was proposed to resent by refusing to pass the Appropriation Act. I wrote to Mr. Deas Thomson, one of the leaders in the Upper House, pointing out to him the absolute insanity of such a course; and when the time came for the second reading of the bill, it was carried by a good majority. I have been trying to induce the Government to take some steps to provide for the defence of the harbour; they are, however, too much occupied in endeavouring to defend themselves against their opponents to think of matters which have not immediate political interest.

The railroad question is another which I took up soon after my arrival, pressing it upon the Government as the only means by which the outlying districts of the colony could be tied to Sydney; but I could not get the Government to think out the question. They kept, it is true, making railways by bits, but they would never face a comprehensive scheme which would have carried the railways to the borders of Queensland. Now the people of Victoria have been more energetic: they have improved their roads, and consequently are able to supply all the settlers in the southern districts at a cheaper rate than can be done from Sydney, so that we lose the duty upon the articles so sent; and any attempt to levy the duty upon the frontier line would give rise to a cry on the part of the population on our side to be united politically to Victoria, as they are commercially. There is a belief that the rush to the Snowy River diggings in the spring will bring from 30,000 to 40,000 people to our side of the frontier, and we shall lose, unless we can supply them from our own market, some 60,000*l.* or

80,000*l.* per annum. The people and the Government in Victoria, seeing that their yield of gold is diminishing, are doing everything to draw trade to Melbourne, to find fresh gold fields, and to get the gold from our side of the boundary to Melbourne as the nearest port. We play into their hands by our foolish squabbles, our paltry personal policy, our ignorance of business, &c. I am heartily sick of talking to a fresh set of Ministers every four or five months.

The petty foolish squabble in New Zealand is going on just as absurdly as it commenced, and I see no prospect of a termination, unless the Governor conciliates the Maories, or the Home Government does, what would be very absurd in my opinion, namely, send out a force sufficient to bully the Maories into submission.

July 17.—I had despatches from New Zealand last week, giving an account of the repulse of our troops in an attack upon a pah. Major N—— was ordered to attack with 330 men a pah which was strongly occupied by the Maories, and supported by a force of upwards of 1,000 men in another pah in the rear. Major N—— was told that a feigned attack should be made on this latter pah, but this was not done; and the consequence was, that the men in the rear came forward in great numbers, turned N——'s flank, obliged him to retreat, and he had some trouble to carry off his guns. He lost twenty-nine killed and thirty-three wounded, one fifth of his whole force. We have sent down reinforcements, and the General is gone down to take the command. I hope he will now act energetically, and put an end to this matter at once.

Extracts from Journal.

Sydney, July 19, 1860.

There has been bad news again from New Zealand, and the Governor has written to W—— for more troops.

Another detachment of the 12th Regiment had arrived here, so that W—— was able to send them a small reinforcement. A vessel has arrived within the last few days from Norfolk Island, bringing several letters from the people there: amongst the rest, one to Spreadborough, and one to Rosalie, from our friend Edwin Nobbs, the youth who was staying here so long. The letter to Spreadborough is very nice, evidently full of grateful recollection of her, and of us generally; in the one to Rosalie he indulges in a little poetical effusion on the subject of a sad accident which has lately happened in Norfolk Island: a poor boy, one of the 'Young' family, having been killed by a fall from his horse. At the end of his verse young Nobbs makes an excuse for his lines not rhyming, by remarking that he is not 'a poetic!'

July 26.—I told you I expected to go to Parramatta to relieve W—— in the charge of S——, who has been there since her illness. It seems my general fortune, whenever I do move about in this country, which is but seldom, always to have water difficulties of some sort to contend with; for as, in this climate, it is almost literally true that 'it never rains but it pours,' we often alternate between droughts and floods; and I generally come in for one of the latter when I leave home. So it was now: I got up to Parramatta on Friday; that night it began to rain, and throughout Saturday, Sunday, and Monday, it continued to pour, pretty nearly without intermission. Imagine our situation, shut up in the little sitting-rooms of an inn through three wet days, and one of them a Sunday! However, we had books, &c. with us, so we really fought along remarkably well, and did not find the time hang heavy; but the real sting of the misfortune was, that in the middle of it all, the idea suggested itself to our minds, that, during the last flood, three months ago, some of the railway embankments had been washed away. 'What if this should happen again?' we thought! for if it

continued to rain, it would be dreadful work to go back by the little river steamer, which has scarcely a cabin big enough to creep into; and as, by the end of the three days' rain, we had nearly exhausted our books and our work, there was the horrid possibility of an additional day or two's detention, with little or nothing to do. Under these circumstances, we listened anxiously throughout Monday, and were comforted, at the proper hours, by the sound of the railway whistle and the rattle of the trains, proving that the line was still open, although the local papers stated that the embankments were loosened by the rains.

Tuesday was the day fixed upon for our return to Sydney. The morning came, and it rained harder than ever! 'If the embankments were loosened by the rain yesterday,' I thought, 'what will they be to-day? Every hour of these tremendous torrents must make them worse;' and I began to feel nervous. There was nothing for it, however, but to wait patiently for the arrival of the ten o'clock train from Sydney, by which it had been arranged that the A. D. C. should come up, in readiness to escort us home in the afternoon. But lo! the ten o'clock train did not arrive! For the first time, we missed the accustomed whistle, and when half an hour passed beyond the time it was due, I got frightened, and took advantage of a lull in the rain, to send the footman up to the railway station to enquire whether there were any tidings of the train, or any rumour of a stoppage or an accident. He did not come back again, and so the time went on, till the train was above an hour overdue. 'Now,' thought I, 'something has surely happened;' and so I worked myself up into a perfect agony; and you may imagine the relief at last of seeing the servant come tearing along through the pouring rain, his face, which was a peculiarly merry one, having lost nothing of its accustomed hilarity of expression. S—— and I flew out to meet him in the hall, and he further cheered us with

the information that the train had just arrived, and that Mr. Pitt (the A.D.C.), was behind him; and in a minute or two more arrived Mr. Pitt himself, dripping but very cheerful, assuring us that the line was still perfectly safe, and that the long detention had been only caused by the extreme precautions they had been taking, sending an engine forward to ascertain the state of things, and creeping at a snail's pace, wherever the line was the least shaken. We got home by the afternoon train, quite safely, but still so cautiously, and with so many difficulties arising from the state of the line, that we were an hour and forty minutes behind our time (in a journey of only fourteen miles); and so, on arriving, we found poor W——nearly as much alarmed as I had been in the morning. He had been to the railway office, desiring them to telegraph for information concerning the train, and he did not get the answering telegram till some time after we had arrived! Such is travelling in New South Wales, even where there *is* a railway and a telegraph; where there are none, of course one comes to a standstill altogether in these floods, and one's friends are left to imagine what has become of one. We found on our arrival that even we had not come in for the worst of the weather; for that the gale of the last night and that morning had been the worst on record here. However, 'all is well that ends well,' and we are very comfortably settled at home again.

July 27.—We went last night to an Oratorio, got up by a 'Vocal Harmonic Society,' of which we are patrons. We had often promised to go to one of their oratorios, but something or other had always prevented our doing so, particularly as, owing to some difficulties as to times and places, the society has always given its concerts on a Thursday, which is our public day at home. However, this week we had resolved not to give a dinner on the Thursday, on purpose that we might go; and go we did,

though it was such a pouring wet night, that nothing short of wishing to do our duty by a society that we had at all events the appearance of having rather neglected, would have taken us out. Once there, however, I at least was amply repaid for the effort, for the oratorio, which was the 'Creation,' was really very respectably performed, and oh! what music it is! Here, too, where one so seldom hears anything but everlasting selections from Italian operas, it was a real feast to get amongst music of the Haydn or Handel schools, so I enjoyed my evening greatly.

To Lady Charlotte Denison.

Sydney, August 18, 1860.

My dear Sister,—Our weather here has been very similar to yours in England. It commenced raining here on July 19, and ceased only on Monday, August 13. The whole country is reduced to mud, the roads are impassable, business is at an end. However, a few bright days have cheered us up a little, and we are looking forward, as usual, to some great move which is to set us all right again. The Kiandra gold diggings are to re-establish credit, make money plentiful, relieve the insolvents, find work for the unemployed; but should these prove to be a delusion, like the Fitzroy diggings in 1859, there will be a fearful smash among the men of business, merchants, &c. The Government is appointing a great number of officials to meet the expected rush, but all these appointments are made contingent upon the success of the diggings, so that there will be every inducement on their part to keep up the excitement, and to stimulate the search for fresh ground to turn up. We had a lecture at the Philosophical Society a few days ago, giving an account of the working of one of our gold fields where there are several quartz reefs. A reef is nothing more than a vein of quartz, which, coming to the surface at some point, is then discovered and

traced in its course, which is generally north and south. It descends into the earth at a very steep angle, and is, in fact, like a sheet of paper separating the masses of rock to the right and left: these rocks are commonly a species of granite. The gold is found sometimes in visible specks, but more generally it is diffused through the mass in an impalpable form, and the quartz has to be crushed, and then submitted to the action of mercury, which amalgamates with the gold, and is afterwards got rid of by sublimation. The miners dig out the quartz, bring it to the surface, have it crushed by machinery, at prices varying from seven and sixpence to twenty shillings per ton, and then get what they can from the dust or sand to which it is reduced. The quantity found varies from fifteen or sixteen ounces per ton at Bendigo, to one ounce or even less at many other workings, but when you remember that a ton of quartz is a mass three feet long by two wide, and two and a half deep, a small block of stone in fact, and when you think that an ounce of gold is worth nearly four pounds, you will be able to understand the inducement to quarry such a material.

Your affectionate Brother,

W. D.

To Lieutenant Warburton, R.E.

Sydney, November 5, 1860.

My dear W——,—Thanks for your letter, and for the sketch of the ground occupied by the pah attacked on June 27. Had the attack been made by twelve hundred men, instead of three hundred, it would probably have proved successful; the Maories might have been driven into their pah, and, when once shut up there, might have been compelled to surrender at discretion, in which case the war would have come to an end. I hardly see any probability of a termination now. The destruction of empty pahs does but little good, unless, it may be,

that of getting rid of troublesome neighbours, and putting the Maories to the expense of rebuilding them. A pah is in no respect analogous to a fortress in Europe. Still, however, it is better to do something, than to remain idle in New Plymouth; and nothing can be so absurd as to retain fifteen hundred or two thousand soldiers to garrison a little village, the population of which did not exceed, at the best of times, two thousand five hundred of all sorts.

L—— has arrived at Melbourne, and is about to commence the work of defences there; his first step has been to remodel the plan. Melbourne is an awkward place to defend, for it lies at the bottom of a deep and wide bay, the channel through which is almost out of cannon-shot from the shore. L—— is scattering his guns along the shore of the bay, two here, two there, and they are too distant from each other to afford mutual support. I think that I should prefer concentrating my guns into three or four batteries, so placed as to protect each other, so that when a vessel brought her broadside to bear on one, the other would either rake her or take her 'en écharpe.' However, it is impossible to judge of a plan without an accurate knowledge of the ground.

Yours truly,

W. D.

To Lady Charlotte Denison.

Sydney, November 5, 1860.

My dear Sister,—I did not write to you by the last mail, as I was obliged to cut my letters as short as possible, having strained my arm. I am better now, but by no means well, not being able to use my arm to do anything which requires a muscular effort; I can write, however, which is a comfort. I am in the midst of a ministerial crisis. The Assembly, which was elected by universal suffrage, has shown itself to be a most impracticable body. It has turned out two ministries, and is about to eject a

third, unless, as is probable, I put an end to its career by a dissolution. My Ministers, one day, say that there never was such an impracticable House, and when I remark that it is one formed according to their own principle of construction, they turn sharp round, and assert that it will compare very favourably with the House of Commons. However, I shall probably soon leave them to their own devices. Evelyn has told you, I dare say, of the letter which the Duke of Newcastle wrote to me, and of the substance of my reply.

I think I alluded in my last to Darwin's book on 'The Origin of Species,' or rather to the review of it in the 'Quarterly.' I have been lately attending a course of lectures at our museum, delivered by the curator, who is a pupil of Owen. The subject of the course was 'The principle of Zoological classification,' and in it he alluded on several occasions to the theory of 'development,' and showed how entirely contrary it was to the general system by which nature works.

The mistake of Darwin and Co. consists in their speculating upon *hypotheses*, that is, upon bare possibilities; and, as God is *omnipotent*, it is in no way *impossible* that He might have decided that man should have originated from a turnip, by some process of development. In order, however, to get even the merest shadow of a *probability* for the upper stages of the system of transmutation, all principle of classification must be set aside, all the homologies which connect class with class must be disregarded, and, when this has been done, we are left without a single tittle of *evidence* that there has ever been even a tendency to such development. There is rather a curious paper in the July 'Quarterly,' which, commencing with Stonehenge, ends by tracing the peculiarities which distinguish the Roman Catholics from the Protestants to peculiarities of *race*. The connection between the Buddhist system, as developed in Thibet (L'Abbé Huc

gives a very graphic account of its absurdities,) and its, I may almost say, identity with the monastic system, is very well put; reference is also made to the marked line which divides the Protestant from the Catholic in Europe, which line is almost coincident with that which separates the Celt from the Teuton. I wonder, if we were to ask Darwin to apply his principle of development to the case of these two races, which of the two he would consider to be nearest to the primitive turnip? Are we improvements upon the Buddhists? are the Protestants a higher type of animal than the Catholics, or vice versâ?

November 17.—The mail has made a marked change in everything relating to our future prospects. It brought out letters from Evelyn and yourself, alluding to a question put by Sir Charles Wood, as to my willingness to proceed to Madras, and it brought me out a letter from Sir Charles Wood, in which, acting upon the assumption that I should go wherever I was ordered, he requested me to proceed to Madras, where I should find my commission waiting for me. I was somewhat prepared for the letters by a telegram of congratulation from Sir Henry Barkly, but you may imagine that the news brought with it much serious thought, and much consultation between Lina and myself. There was, however, no doubt or hesitation as to our acceptance of the offer.

I have too much to do here, politically, in order to leave matters clear for my successor, to be able to start before the January mail. The new Assembly will meet on the 8th, and I shall have to say my say to them, to draw up a long memorandum as to men and things for my successor, to arrange the matters connected with Norfolk Island, which are all in my hands. Then selling off and packing up is no trifling job, looking to the fact that my collection of shells numbers about seven thousand species. We shall reach Madras about the 26th or 27th of February; and shall meet C—— there, to whom I have written to

make all necessary arrangements and purchases for us. Then such of the children as must be sent home will leave me in one of the early steamers with Lina, and make a rapid run to England, she rejoining me in the autumn.

I look forward with great pleasure to the idea of having something to do. In these responsible governments one sees much going on which is most objectionable, yet one is powerless either to do good or to prevent evil. One may make suggestions, but these, if adopted, which is by no means certain to be the case, are pretty sure to be marred in the working from the ignorance of the instruments, or from the inability of the Ministers to comprehend subjects upon which they have never thought, or upon which, if they have looked, it has been through a glass like a kaleidoscope. I have written to Evelyn to thank him specially for the manner in which he dealt with the reference made to him by Sir Charles Wood. He acted in the kindest and wisest manner, as he always has done.

Your affectionate Brother,

W. D.

Extracts from Journal.

Sydney, November 7, 1860.

As our Parliament has now been sitting for rather more than a month, we are, of course, in a ministerial fix again; or, at least, on the very verge of one, for no ministry ever agrees long with Parliament here. The present Ministers, however, cling stoutly to office, and would have liked W—— to dissolve the Parliament; but this he has refused to do, until they have passed the estimates, or at least obtained supplies for the next six months; for one of the worst features of the constant state of squabbling in this Parliament is, that they never get through the estimates by the end of the year, and were getting into a sort of reckless way of spending money by a mere resolution of the Lower House, which was not at all right;

but yet it was becoming so habitual here, that W—— at last felt himself bound to interpose; and therefore he declared early in this present year, that not a farthing of expenditure would he sanction, after the 31st of December, which had not been regularly voted and appropriated by both houses. This frightened people a little at first, and they have talked about it from time to time; nevertheless, here is November, and now the supplementary estimates for 1860 are not, I believe, all passed yet, to say nothing of those for 1861, which all ought to be passed before the close of the year: to dissolve now would of course be to throw away the last chance of passing them, though W—— will not object to a dissolution when once supplies are legally obtained; so there remains to Ministers no choice, but either to push their estimates through, or to resign. They are trying the former course, but whether they will succeed or not, remains to be proved.

In October 1860, I received a very kind letter from the Duke of Newcastle, alluding to the fact that the termination of the usual period of the tenure of my office was approaching, and expressing his desire to consult my wishes both as to the time of my departure from New South Wales, and as to my future employment under the Colonial Office. To this I replied on the 17th October, thanking his Grace for his kindness, and expressing my willingness to accept employment under the Colonial Office, should Her Majesty think fit to make use of my services as Governor of a colony. I named March as the latest period at which it would be pleasant to leave Sydney, seeing that I should have to round Cape Horn on my way home. Early in November, however, I received a letter from Sir Charles Wood, a copy of which is annexed, offering me the government of Madras, which had fallen vacant by the death of Sir Henry Ward very soon after

his appointment. I ought hardly to use the term 'offered me the Government,' for Sir Charles said that my distance from England had been an objection to my appointment; but that he had enquired from my brother, and received in reply an assurance that I should be quite willing to undertake any duty which might be imposed upon me. This had induced him to waive the objection, and, on the credit of this assurance, I was directed to proceed to Madras, as soon as I could make arrangements for handing over the government of New South Wales to my successor; and I was told that I should find my commission and full instructions for my guidance waiting for me at Madras.

Under the circumstances in which I was placed, this offer could not be refused. I wrote, therefore, to Sir Charles Wood, thanking him for the honour he had done me in selecting me for such a responsible appointment, and mentioning the time at which I should be able to reach Madras.

There were too many advantages attaching to an Indian government to make it a matter of question with me whether I should accept the offer or not, but, on the other hand, there were serious drawbacks in the shape of separation from children, which, to a man with a large family like myself, operated as a set-off against these advantages. Had I been called upon to decide between an offer of the government of a Colony where I could have kept my children with me, and that of Madras, I might, very probably, have preferred the former; as it was, however, the question was settled for me, and I was glad to be relieved from the responsibility of deciding a matter of such importance.

The following letter to the Duke of Newcastle will explain my feelings with reference to the appointment as Governor of Madras:—

Government House, Sydney, November 16, 1860.

My dear Lord,—I wrote by the last mail, acknowledging the kind letter which I had received from your Grace, and giving a frank statement of my views and wishes on the subject of future employment by the Government. Since then, the matter has been taken out of my hand, and I have received instructions to proceed to Madras with as little delay as possible. I am not, I confess, sorry that I have not been called upon to decide for myself in a matter which may be productive of important results to me and to my children. I have, on one or two occasions, tried to carve out a road for myself, and have, as often, found that the results were not such as I had anticipated. I have, therefore, for many years past left myself, as some people might say, to chance, but, as I say, to the disposal of Him who knows what is truly best for me. This, however, does not in any way lessen my gratitude to those who are instruments of good to me; and I trust that I may be allowed to say that to your Grace I feel especially thankful for many kind actions and kindly expressions, both of which, and, perhaps, especially the latter, make impressions on the heart not to be easily erased.

I have written, officially, on the subject of the state of politics here; and I propose to leave, for my successor, a paper containing the result of my own observations upon the men and the measures to which his attention will have to be directed. I will forward a copy of this to your Grace.

Believe me, my dear Lord, to be most gratefully and sincerely yours,

W. D.

From Right Honourable Sir C. Wood to Sir W. Denison.

Hickleton, September 24, 1860.

My dear Denison,—Sir H. Ward, the new Governor of Madras, died very unexpectedly a short time after his appointment, and it is essential to find a good man to replace him.

I was anxious, if I could have found a good man here, to have sent a man from hence, as so much time would have been saved. It certainly was an objection to you that you are at the Antipodes, and I could not feel sure that the offer of Madras would be agreeable to you. I have, however, this morning, a letter from the Speaker, who says that I may rely on your undertaking any duty which is for the public service without hesitation, and I therefore write to you, in the fullest confidence that you will accept the government. I think you the best man for it. If you had been at home, I should have offered it to you at once. The inevitable loss of time was a serious objection, but a good Governor is better than a less fit man.

I cannot suppose that you will be able to start at once; and indeed I must apprize the Colonial Office that I have done this. I have no time for more arrangement previous to writing to you, as the mail goes to-morrow. You must, therefore, be good enough to be making your preparations to come to Madras as soon as you reasonably can; you will find your commission there. It might, perhaps, be well if you could see Lord Canning by the way; but I have desired him to write to you to meet you at Galle.

I will also write to you fully to meet you on your arrival, with all that I have to say on every subject; there is a great deal to be done in the way of internal improvement in all ways.

I hope that this offer will be agreeable to you. The Speaker's letter to me says that you have sometimes contemplated such an arrangement, and I shall be very glad to find myself in official connection with so old a friend. I have no doubt we shall agree as well as when you were at Woolwich, and I was at the Admiralty. I cannot conclude my letter without thanking you for all your kindness to my boy.

Yours very truly,
CHARLES WOOD.

To Sir Charles Wood.

Sydney, November 15, 1860.

My dear Sir Charles,—I will write frankly to you as an old friend. Had I been called upon to decide whether I should proceed at once to Madras, or wait for my chance of a government which might enable me to retain my family about me, I should probably have hesitated to accept your kind offer; for, although there are many advantages which attach to an Indian government, there are drawbacks which, to a man with a large family like myself, and to one whose heart is bound up in his children, operate as a set-off against these. On the other hand, I never like to attempt to carve out a course for myself: I feel much more happy when I can believe that my own wishes or actions have not placed me in any position of responsibility. I can work with much more comfort to myself, and therefore much harder, when I feel that I am not responsible for the consequences to myself which may result from my position. I have troubled you with this preface explanatory of my feelings and motives, and I now thank you for the honour you have done me in selecting me for so responsible an office; for the kind expressions of confidence in my ability; and also that you have spared me the difficulties of deciding between duty and inclination.

I shall commence at once to make preparations for my departure; but there is much to be done both politically and privately. I have just been obliged to dissolve the Assembly, and to call a new Parliament together, which will not meet before the end of the year, and the proceedings of which it is desirable I should inaugurate. To tell you the honest truth, I should not like to leave my *responsible Ministers* without the check which the presence of a Governor places upon them: a mere 'locum tenens' is a slave to the members of the Executive Council. Then again, after a residence of six years in any place, one finds that one's roots have struck somewhat deeply into the ground; and one requires to withdraw them with some caution. I propose, however, to move from this by the January mail, which will reach Madras about the end of February. I shall write to Lord Canning by the present mail, asking him to notify his wishes as regards a personal interview with him; though I am not certain that it would not be as well that this should be postponed till I have been able to make myself master, in some measure, of the general machinery of the government, and of the feelings and ideas of my advisers at Madras. I shall ask Lord Canning also to use his influence with the Commander of the Forces to allow my brother, who has been Deputy Adjutant General at Madras for three years, to come down to pay me a visit at all events. I should be glad to have him on my staff, if possible; the presence of a person who knows everybody, and is acquainted with a mass of petty details which cannot otherwise reach a Governor's ears, is very useful. May I reckon upon the exercise of your influence at the Horse Guards, should the question be referred home? I trust that you will allow me to write to you *privately* upon matters connected with my Government. I have always found this most useful, as placing the Secretary of State in possession of facts and details which could not possibly find a place in

public despatches. These, now that everything is made known to the world at large, require to be written so cautiously as might often mislead him, if not accompanied by a running commentary in the shape of private letters. These, however, are matters which can be settled hereafter; I only allude to them at present in order to assure you that my wish will be to work for and with you, and not for myself. Your son left this a long time ago, and was, I believe, to go home in the 'Elk:' he has escaped all this foolish business with the Maories. He left behind him pleasant remembrances, being a gentleman as well as a sailor. He left you a boy, and has returned a man. I shall be quite satisfied if my boy, who has just passed his examination for midshipman, comes back to me with as good a character.

Yours very truly,
W. D.

To Lord Canning.

Sydney, November 17, 1860.

My dear Lord,—By the last mail I received a letter from Sir Charles Wood, telling me, that, reckoning upon my willingness to undertake any duty which might be for the public service, he had appointed me to the government of Madras; that I was to come on as soon as I could make my preparations, and that I should find my commission waiting for me at Madras. Sir Charles said that I might as well, if possible, see your Lordship on my way, and that you would notify your wishes, as regards this, in a letter which might meet me at Galle.

I shall not be able to leave this before January, when I propose to come on by the mail steamer, which ought to be at Madras before the end of February. With reference to Sir C. Wood's suggestion that I should wait upon you on my way, I leave it, of course, for your decision. I am not certain, however, that it would not be better to

make myself in some measure acquainted with the organisation of my Government, and with the subjects upon which you will have to explain your views and wishes, before I come up to Calcutta. A few months will be usefully spent in looking into the machinery of the government, and in making myself master of the peculiar nomenclature in use in India, without which knowledge I should have to listen, and to yield an ignorant assent to all that you might have to say; and might find afterwards that I had misunderstood you, or been misunderstood myself. However, as I said before, I leave this entirely to your Lordship.

I travel with many impediments in the shape of children. I have thought it better to bring all on to Madras, in order to ascertain, on the spot, what the action of the climate may be, and how many I must part with. That I cannot retain all, I am aware, and this rending asunder of family ties is one of the great drawbacks to service in India. I trust that the climate has had no injurious effect upon Lady Canning or yourself. Believe me,

Yours very truly,

W. D.

To Lady Hornby.

Sydney, November 20, 1860.

Dearest Mammy,—I must send you a few lines just to assure you that the sudden change in our destination will, if anything, shorten the period which will elapse before you will see Lina, and a good many, at all events, of our belongings. I had, I confess, hoped that, in consequence of the letter of the Duke of Newcastle, I should have been able to visit England myself, and have taken a fresh 'departure' from thence; but this sudden move to Madras has upset all these calculations. Lina and I, however, have both agreed that it is far better to leave the future in God's hand, without striving to meddle or make

in it. And, as the appointment to Madras has come to me altogether unsought and unasked for, we have decided that it would not be right to allow our own feelings or fancies to interfere with the arrangement thus made for us, and which is, no doubt, that best suited to us. I do not trouble myself with enquiries *how* this is to be best for us. I take it as it is sent, without question. My present idea is to move off bag and baggage by the January mail steamer, provided Lina is in a fit state to travel. I hope and trust that all may go well with her, and that she may be able to go on board without any risk. You may trust me, dear Mammy, not to allow her wishes to prevail over prudence, for I have too great a value for the treasure you have intrusted to me to risk the loss of it by any want of caution on my part. We will suppose ourselves landed at Madras by the end of February. I shall not let those who are to go home stay too long there, but pack them off, after a very short delay, just enough to allow them to give you an account of the place, and I think you may reckon upon their arrival in England some time in May. I feel, however, as if I were somewhat presumptuous in venturing to look forward so far; but I do so, subject to the will of God; He has been so good to me, has given me so many blessings, among the greatest of which is the wife I got from you, that I have a confidence that He will not leave me now.

There is, I imagine, much to do in Madras in preparing for the great changes incidental to the assumption of the Government by the Imperial authorities. The amalgamation and reduction of the army, the collection and augmentation of the revenue, the improvement of the means of communication, the development of the system of irrigation, all these will furnish ample materials for thought and study, and my shells will, I think, probably remain quiet in their packing cases. Our packing will be formidable, of books especially; I fancy but few

Governors move about the world with a library of two thousand volumes. It is, however, a great satisfaction to me to have books at hand, and it is such an inducement to children to read, that it is well worth the cost and trouble of moving. I know nothing positive as to my salary; people consider that it will be large enough to enable me to lay by something for our children. I hope it may, but I have confidence that God will look after my children as He has after me; and that, should I not be able to leave them what may be thought a sufficiency of worldly wealth, this want, if it be a want in His sight, will be made good to them by Him, as it may seem to Him best.

I love the 127th Psalm, which tells us that 'Children and the fruit of the womb are an heritage and gift that cometh of the Lord,' and that 'Happy is the man who has his quiver full of them.' With best love to you all,

Your affectionate Son,

W. D.

Extracts from Journal.

Sydney, November 29, 1860.

Dearest ——,—We have been steadily getting forward with such packings, arrangements, and preparations as could be made so long beforehand, so as to prevent any hurry at last; and I think everything is in a tolerable state of progress. The ministerial difficulties resulted in a dissolution of Parliament, and now the new elections are going on; but the aspect of our new parliament is by no means promising. It has really seemed through all these elections, as if education and respectability of character and position rather acted as a disqualification than otherwise, in the eyes of the New South Wales electors. The members are nearly all new men, as if the old ones were already too respectable and long standing to suit the spirit of wild democracy and reckless change; and, as

I believe *no* qualification is required here, either for members or electors, beyond their being twenty-one years of age, and residents in the place for six months, of course the spirit of the day can have its full swing. The only two satisfactory election stories I have heard are these. 1st. That one of the hopeful candidates was suspected of being an infidel; and though he did not openly avow such opinions, yet neither did he disavow them, in his speech on the hustings. However, he gave vent to some expressions of admiration of Tom Paine, the infidel writer of the last century; but this was received with such a storm of disapprobation that he retired amidst a chorus of yells, and lost his election. The other story was that one of the candidates indulged in a little abuse of William, for having consented to dissolve the old parliament; and this also was received with marked disapprobation by the people, and is *said*, though I do not know with what degree of truth, to have had an influence on the event of that man's election, which he also lost; so there have been two redeeming points in the conduct of our 'free and independent electors,' and they are the only two that I have heard of.

William received yesterday evening a farewell address from the members of the Philosophical Society; the first farewell address which has been presented, though I dare say there will be many more. I think I may end with a very good report of us all. Much love to all.

The following address to Lady Denison was presented by the ladies of Sydney, and accompanied a parting gift from them which is described in a later page.

The answer to this address is a true record of our feelings on leaving Australia, where we had spent fourteen very happy years; chequered of course, as must be the case, with occasional sorrows, but still, on the whole, pre-

senting many bright and happy memories, among which not the least happy was that which reminded us that we were leaving very many kind and attached friends, and hardly a single enemy.

Address of the Ladies of Sydney to Lady Denison.

Madam,—In the prospect of your departure from the colony, we desire to express the deep feeling of regard and affection which we entertain towards you, and the regret with which we contemplate your removal from amongst us. We embrace this opportunity of acknowledging with gratitude the many advantages which we, and the community at large, have derived from your residence in Sydney. We highly appreciate your endeavours to promote the well being and happiness of the young in every class of society, and your uniform kindness and liberality to the afflicted and the poor.

The lively interest which has been manifested by you and His Excellency the Governor-General in everything which conduces to the moral and social improvement of the community, and the valuable assistance rendered by you in carrying out various educational and philanthropic designs, have not been without their fruit. The colony will long remember the manner in which you have adorned your high position, and the admirable example you have left to us.

We respectfully beg your acceptance of the accompanying token of our remembrance, as a grateful though inadequate expression of the esteem in which we hold you, and of the prayerful interest with which we shall ever regard you. May it please Almighty God to vouchsafe to you and to Sir William Denison, and to your children, all the blessings which His providence and grace can bestow, for time and for eternity!

We remain, Madam, with respect and affection,

Your faithful friends.

Answer to Address of Ladies.

My dear Friends,—It is with heartfelt gratification that I have received your most kind address.

It is a great pleasure to me to feel that in leaving Australia, I carry with me the regard and good wishes of those with whom we have so long lived in the habits of friendly intercourse; and that I and my family shall be remembered in your prayers. I shall accept with great pleasure the token of regard you have so kindly offered me, and shall value it exceedingly, both for the sake of the kind givers, and as a memento of the happy years I have passed in the colony. Trusting that every blessing may rest upon you and yours,

I remain your sincere friend,

CAROLINE DENISON.

Extracts from Journal.

Peninsular and Oriental Company's Steam Ship 'Behar,'
Melbourne, January 25, 1861.

'So far, so good;' we anchored here early this morning, (Friday) having left Sydney on Tuesday afternoon, and having had fine weather all the way. I have much to tell you of our last days in Sydney; *how* deeply gratifying they were I can hardly say. W—— held his farewell levee last Saturday: never, I believe, had a levée there been so crowded; between two and three hundred people actually turned away, at last, in despair of getting in at all. I think twenty-four different addresses were presented to him; and of these, though some were, of course, the sort of outward compliment that would have been paid to almost any Governor on his departure, yet I believe even these were really *felt*, not mere words of course; and there were others which never could have been called into being at all, if W—— had not been what he is;

those, I mean, which, from their nature, were not so much a tribute to the *Governor*, as to the *man*. Such was the address of 'the parishioners of St. James's,' which had evidently sprung out of the manner in which W—— has often merged the Governor in the fellow-parishioner, working away at the schools and other parish matters with all his own energy, and certainly setting an example which must have been beneficial. Such, also, was the address of the 'Church Society,' a very nice one; and those from the scientific and other useful bodies he has assisted, and the Christian Association, and Schools of Arts, in which he has given lectures; and last, though in a different line, that of 'the Sydney cricketers'! for W—— has always been a great promoter of cricket,—and he had procured for their use a good cricket ground, and had often staid nearly whole afternoons looking on at the matches.

In the interval between Saturday and our departure on Tuesday came divers little private farewells of a more quiet and touching nature: nicest of all these, I think, was the visit of the Bishop, who, though he was to join in the general farewell on Tuesday, came the day before for a little private good-bye to us both, and, after we had talked a little, he asked if he might kneel down and pray with us, and he offered such a nice, short, but appropriate little prayer as did our hearts good, and considerably cheered mine, which was beginning to sink under the close anticipation of a sea voyage. Then came kind, cordial notes from people who either could not come to see us, or were afraid of intruding on me before I was well enough to be fairly down stairs; then the parting with all our servants, except the three who are going on with us; and this was very sorrowful, but at the same time pleasing, because it was plain that all felt it as the break up of what had been, to all, a happy home. I must not forget to tell you, though it belongs more to the public than the private

part of my history, that there is an address to me from the ladies of Sydney, accompanied by what they call 'a token of their regard and prayerful interest.' What this is, I do not yet know, and it has rather grieved my curiosity to leave Sydney without knowing; it is to be sent after me by the next mail.[1]

At W——'s embarkation on Tuesday there was, of course, another ovation; but I did not see it, as I had to keep very quiet, for prudence sake, so I was carried down to the boat in a sort of litter, and went quietly on board, about an hour before the public embarkation. W——'s departure was, of course, a scene of crowds, and salutes, and cheers, and presented arms, &c. but all very cordial and pleasing, and when our steamer moved off, a procession of smaller steamers and boats followed us to the Heads, and one or two even outside them. The steamers were crowded with miscellaneous people, many of them, of course, mere sightseers; but it was pleasing to see one or two quiet little boats coming after us, as it were on their own account, containing those who, we felt, were not coming to see the sight, but to see the last of us. One of these contained the Bishop and Mrs. Barker; another, two of our old men servants, and an old sergeant of sappers, to whom W—— had had to present an honorary medal.

Steam Ship 'Behar,' at sea, February 3.—We left Melbourne on the morning after I wrote last, and had a rather rough, unpleasant passage to King George's Sound, our next stopping place, a little coaling station on the south coast of Western Australia, which we reached the evening before last. It looked rather pretty as we approached it;—a little village, Albany by name, nestled

[1] It is a remarkably pretty vase, formed of an emu's egg, set in silver, and surrounded with silver fern leaves, and small figures of Australian animals in gold.

in between bold, though bare, granite hills, and containing some tidy houses and a neat little church; but a walk on shore the next morning, during the coaling process, rather destroyed the illusion; the houses not looking so well when we got near them. The first human being we saw on landing was an aboriginal, who calls himself 'King George,' and who came down, as is the wont of his race when they see people landing from a steamer, to beg for 'a sixpence.' Anything so hideous in human shape I never saw: his face, neck, and hair, were a mass of some kind of red grease, with which he had bedaubed himself, except one great streak across his nose and cheeks, which was left black. He was followed by a few more of the same race; two men, two women, one of them with a child in her arms, and a young girl. These were all rather less hideous than King George, inasmuch as they had left themselves to their natural colour, omitting the red grease; still,—ugly, dirty, and but scantily clothed, they were painful to look at: the 'piccaninny' was much the nicest looking amongst them.

February 5.—We are getting on, thank God! most prosperously; flying before the trade wind through a rapidly warming atmosphere, and over a tolerably smooth sea, of that intense, glorious blue which is not to be seen except at a distance from land, and which has given rise to the expression of being 'in blue water.' Really this 'overland route' is a very pleasant one; the many breaks in it prevent its seeming like a long voyage; and the steamers, judging from this one, are remarkably well ordered and comfortable. Day commences on board the 'Behar' at half past five in the morning, in such a decided and energetic manner, with such a noise of scrubbing, washing, and holystoning, that it is impossible to continue asleep, so everybody gets up early in self-defence, and then ensues a successive stream to the baths: for there are regular bath-rooms, in which you can have either a hot

or cold or shower bath at any hour. The 'commissariat' department is excellent; cooking and attendance both very good. The crew is composed partly of English, partly of Indians and Lascars; and my national vanity gratifies itself by commenting on the contrast between the two. The first day I was on deck when we were moving, I pleased myself with thinking how much more mind and character there were in the two sturdy English faces at the wheel, than in all the dark, swarthy visages of the rest of the crew on deck; and still greater is the contrast in their manner of working; the English sailor so quiet and efficient, doing his work, but making no fuss about it, and the Indian, who can do nothing without an amount of noise, shouting, and vociferation, that would be almost alarming, if one did not know that it is a part of their nature.

February 10.—Within the last two days, we have lost the south-east trade wind, and got into what they call the 'Line Monsoon,' which brings up such a disagreeable swell that it has rather upset us all again. It is very hot too; and now, every day at meal times, we have half a dozen Indian boys, dressed in white, with scarlet turbans and girdles, standing in a row on each side the table, waving large fans behind our chairs. However, between the heat and the swell, I can't write no more; so good bye.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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